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THE USE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IN THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH

THE BISHOP PADDOCK LECTURES

1903

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THEOLOGICAL SEM

THE USE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IN THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH

BY

THE RT. REV. A. C. A. HALL, D.D.

BISHOP OF VERMONT

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THE BISHOP PADDOCK LECTURES

In the summer of the year 1880, George A. Jarvis, of Brooklyn, N. Y., moved by his sense of the great good which might thereby accrue to the cause of Christ, and to the Church of which he was an ever-grateful member, gave to the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church certain securities, exceeding in value eleven thousand dollars, for the foundation and maintenance of a Lectureship in said Seminary.

Out of love to a former pastor and enduring friend, the Right Rev. Benjamin Henry Paddock, D. D., Bishop of Massachusetts, he named the foundation "The Bishop Paddock Lectureship."

The deed of trust declares that "*The Subjects* of the lectures shall be such as appertain to the defence of the religion of Jesus Christ, as revealed in the *Holy Bible*, and illustrated in the *Book of Common Prayer*, against the varying errors of the day, whether materialistic, rationalistic, or professedly religious; and also to its defence and confirmation in respect to such central truths as the *Trinity*, the *Atonement*,

Justification, and the *Inspiration of the Word of God;* and of such central facts as the *Church's Divine Order and Sacraments*, her historical *Reformation*, and her rights and powers as a pure and national Church. *And* other subjects may be chosen if unanimously approved by the Board of Appointment, as being both timely and also within the true intent of this Lectureship."

Under this appointment of the Board, created by the trust, the Right Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont, delivered the Lectures for the year 1903, contained in this volume.

PREFACE

For the numerous quotations throughout the Lectures, I hardly think an apology is needed. Those who have the opportunity may, I trust, be led to study for themselves the authorities to which I refer; while my hope has been that I might bring together into one book a good deal on various departments of the general subject, and from various sources, to which many persons might not themselves have access. While originals have in almost all cases been consulted, references have also commonly been given to available translations; but this does not always mean that the rendering given is that of the translation referred to.

In further explanation of the frequent and free citations (especially in Lectures I, IV, V) from the works of Dr. Sanday and Dr. Kirkpatrick, I would say that where a writer could not speak with the authority of personal investigation, it seemed best in an obvious way to claim for the position adopted the shelter of such sane and devout critical students

of Holy Scripture as the Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. With regard to these questions of historical and literary criticism, I should like to quote the words of the Encyclical Letter adopted and issued by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion at the last Lambeth Conference, in 1897.

"The critical study of the Bible by competent scholars is essential to the maintenance in the Church of a healthy faith. That faith is already in serious danger which refuses to face questions that may be raised either on the authority or the genuineness of any part of the Scriptures that have come down to us. Such refusal creates painful suspicion in the minds of many whom we have to teach, and will weaken the strength of our own conviction of the truth that God has revealed to us. A faith which is always or often attended by a secret fear that we dare not inquire, lest inquiry should lead us to results inconsistent with what we believe, is already infected with a disease which may soon destroy it."

Without committing him to approval of every position taken in these Lectures, I desire to express my hearty gratitude to my dear friend, the Rev. Dr. Body, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the General Theological Seminary, for many helpful suggestions. In particular, I am indebted to him for the

thought of the three greater charters of the Old Testament (Lect. I, p. 25), and for invaluable assistance in preparing Appendix A and Appendix E.

One other word I may be allowed to add. These Lectures will be associated in memory with the vacant and draped Decanal stall in the Seminary Chapel. It has been to me no little gratification to receive in his nomination to this Lectureship (with the approval of the Bishops of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Long Island) this among other tokens of Dr. Hoffman's confidence and regard. May he enjoy the abundance of rest and light, and may a worthy successor be found to carry on and develop the work at the General Seminary which was so near his heart, and on the growth of which, spiritual, intellectual, and material, he lavished so much of fortune and care and thought.

A. C. A. H.

Quinquagesima Sunday, 1903.

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LECTURE I

THE USE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IN PUBLIC WORSHIP INHERITED BY THE CHRISTIAN FROM THE JEWISH CHURCH

THE subject proposed for this course of lectures will be regarded, I hope, as fairly coming under the terms of the trust. The pious founder laid down that —

"The subjects of the Lectures are to be such as appertain to the defence of the religion of Jesus Christ, as revealed in the Holy Bible and illustrated in the Book of Common Prayer, against the varying errors of the day, whether materialistic, rationalistic, or professedly religious; and also to its defence and confirmation in respect of such central truths as the Trinity, the Atonement, Justification, and the Inspiration of the Word of God; and of such central facts as the Church's divine order and Sacraments, her historical Reformation, and her rights and powers as a pure and national Church."

In treating of "The Use of Holy Scripture in the Public Worship of the Church," it is my desire, amid

historical and liturgical investigations, to show (1) in her use of the Holy Scriptures evidence of the Church's regard for their unique character; (2) how little the results of modern critical studies need interfere with our use of the Scriptures for the purposes for which they are read in public worship; (3) but on the other hand to point out how from these studies we may attain to a more intelligent use of the Bible; (4) in particular it will be my object to answer difficulties and objections that are frequently urged and felt with reference to the use of different portions of the Old Testament; (5) and generally I shall hope to vindicate the rule of our own Book of Common Prayer in regard to the reading of Holy Scripture, and to show how profitable to both clergy and laity should be the faithful and devout observance of the rule.

With these objects in view, I shall ask you to consider in successive lectures: —

I. The inheritance from the Jewish by the Christian Church of the use of Holy Scripture in public worship;

II. The use of Scripture in the Eucharistic service;

III. The gradual development of what may best be termed the Choir office (represented by our Order for Morning and Evening Prayer), with its Psalms and Lessons.

IV. We will then consider more particularly the use of the Psalter, and

V. The reading of the Old Testament Scriptures in Christian worship.

VI. Then we may be in a position in a concluding lecture to consider some suggestions of a practical kind with regard to the Scriptural element in our existing services.

Before entering on our discussion, I may be allowed to express, along with my appreciation of the opportunity to deal with these subjects in lectures addressed primarily to a body of students preparing for the sacred ministry, my gratification at the appointment on this particular foundation named in honour of the bishop under whom I served for eighteen years as a presbyter. Looking over the list of my predecessors in this lectureship, I see that I am the first of Bishop Paddock's clergy to be called upon to deliver these lectures. My connection with the diocese of Massachusetts was practically coterminous with his episcopate. I was crossing the Atlantic on the way to this country when he was consecrated in the September Ember-week of 1873. I left Massachusetts shortly after the consecration of his illustrious successor, Dr. Phillips Brooks. Whatever differences between bishop and presbyter those eighteen years

may have seen, they ended certainly in a warm friendship, and they witnessed unfailing kindness on the bishop's part, and left on my mind the ineffaceable remembrance of an administration of unblemished character, of untiring labour, and of absolute faithfulness to Christ and His Church. I count it a privilege thus to pay my tribute of respect and affection to the memory of the Right Reverend Dr. Benjamin Henry Paddock, after whom this lectureship is named.

The use of Scripture in public worship was inherited by the Christian Church from the Jewish in its Temple and Synagogue services. In the Synagogue, in the time of our Lord, there seems to have been no use of the Psalms,[1] but only the reading of lessons from the Law and from the Prophets. In the Temple worship, on the other hand, the reading of lessons found no place; but Psalms were chanted, one, appointed for each day of the week, in connection with the offering of the morning sacrifice, and in fuller measure at special festivals. The daily Psalms were these:[2]

[1] Very elaborate tables for the use of the Psalter according to modern custom in the Synagogue, are given in The Prayer Book Interleaved (Campion and Beamont), pp. 245–249.

[2] Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ* (Eng. trans.), II. i. pp. 290, 291.

1st day, Psalm xxiv, "The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is";

2nd day, Psalm xlviii, "Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised";

3rd day, Psalm lxxxii, "God standeth in the congregation of princes";

4th day, Psalm xciv, "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth";

5th day, Psalm lxxxi, "Sing we merrily unto God our strength";

6th day, Psalm xciii, "The Lord is king, and hath put on glorious apparel";

7th day, Sabbath, Psalm xcii, "It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord."[1]

Edersheim[2] quotes from the Mishna some fantastic and strange reasons for the selection of these Psalms, and their appropriation to the different days of the week, in connection with the work of the several days in the Creation story in Genesis i. He also describes the manner of singing the daily Psalm with the accompanying ceremonial. When the public

[1] Ps. xcii is marked "For the Sabbath day" in Hebrew. This is the only reference to the daily Psalms in the Hebrew text. LXX marks xxiv, xlviii, xciv, xciii, as in the above list; the old Latin version marks lxxxi for the 5th day. See *The Book of Psalms, with Introduction and Notes*, by A. F. Kirkpatrick, p. xxvii.

[2] *The Temple and its services*, p. 143.

sacrificial offering was completed, the priests blew three blasts with their silver trumpets. Then the choir of the Levites, who crowded the fifteen steps which led from the Court of Israel to that of the Priests, accompanied by instrumental music, began the Psalm of the day. The vivid account of the worship accompanying the sacrifice given by the Son of Sirach at the end of Ecclesiasticus will be remembered by some.

When the sacrificial action was complete,

> "Then shouted the sons of Aaron,
> They sounded the trumpets of beaten work,
> They made a great noise to be heard,
> For a remembrance before the Most High.
> Then all the people together hasted,
> And fell down upon the earth on their faces
> To worship their Lord, the Almighty, God Most High.
> The singers also praised him with their voices;
> In the whole house was there made sweet melody.
> And the people besought the Lord Most High,
> In prayer before him that is merciful,
> Till the worship of the Lord should be ended;
> And so they accomplished his service."[1]

Besides this daily Psalm, to which on the Sabbath were added in the morning the Song of Moses, in Deuteronomy xxxii and in the evening his Song in Exodus xv, there was in the Second Temple nothing

[1] Ecclus. l. 16–19.

corresponding with the choir office of the Catholic Church. On special festivals Psalms were chanted in the Temple, like the Hallel (Ps. cxiii–cxviii) at the Feast of Tabernacles,[1] when also the song in Isaiah xii was chanted as the water was brought from the pool of Siloam. This group of Psalms was also sung at the Dedication Feast, as well as in each house during and after the paschal meal.[2] The Pilgrim Songs (cxx–cxxxiv) were sung by companies of pilgrims on their way to the Holy City for the festivals.

Dr. Kirkpatrick[3] points out that the titles of several psalms refer to their liturgical use: "To make memorial," which is prefixed to Psalms xxxviii and lxx, may indicate that these were sung at the offering of incense; "For the thank-offering," prefixed to Psalm c, may mark that it was sung when thank-offerings were made. Psalm xxx would seem from its title to belong to the Dedication Festival, Psalm xxix to the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. There would seem to have been a much larger element of regular choral worship and psal-

[1] See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii. p. 159.

[2] For the manner of using the Hallel at the paschal feast, see Plummer on St. Luke xxii. 17, note, p. 495.

[3] *Psalms*, pp. xxvii, xxviii.

mody in earlier days.[1] In spite of modern arguments or theories, Dr. Sanday says, "I cannot think that it has been at all proved that there was no psalmody in the first temple. The simple fact that a body of singers (Ezra ii. 41, Neh. vii. 44) returned from captivity is strong presumption to the contrary. Still less can we believe that the art which had reached such high perfection in the Song of Deborah and in David's elegy [over Saul and Jonathan] was never employed for purposes of devotion until after the Exile.[2]" That this should have been greatly curtailed by the time of our Lord will not be surprising when we consider the ending of the legitimate priesthood two hundred years before; the oppression of the Jews under the Ptolemies, and the profanation of the Temple under Antiochus Epiphanes; and further that the Maccabees, who did so much for the restoration of the Temple, were warriors rather than prelates. Owing to these causes (as in England after the Commonwealth and with the Erastian appointments under the Georges) the ancient dignity and fulness of the divine service was almost lost in practice.

[1] For hints of this see Isa. xxx. 29; Jer. xxxiii. 11 (a prediction of its restoration), Amos v. 23, where the noise of the songs, and the melody of viols, are connected with the burnt-offering, the meal-offering, and the peace-offering.

[2] *Inspiration* (Bampton Lectures, 1893), p. 251.

Synagogue worship apparently originated during the Babylonian exile, when the sacrificial worship of the Temple was impracticable; it was continued and expanded after the Return, both among the Jews of the Dispersion and in Palestine. The Sabbath service consisted in our Lord's time of the recitation of the Shema or profession of faith, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, etc.," of certain prescribed prayers,[1] and of two lessons from the Scriptures, with an exposition or exhortation founded thereon if a teacher were present. The first lesson was from the Law, that is, the Pentateuch. This was fixed, the Pentateuch being read through once in three years. The second lesson from the Prophets seems to have been left to the choice of the reader.[2] This reading was from the earlier or the later Prophets; that is, from the historical books (Joshua to Kings) written by chroniclers who commented on the records, writing from a distinctly religious point of view, or from the Prophets proper. The lesson

[1] For the 18 prayers of the Synagogue (probably of later development), see Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. I. ch. i. sec. 3.

[2] The table of lessons from both the Law and the Prophets given in Horne's *Introduction* (vol. III. pt. III. ch. i. sec. 4, pp. 256, 257), and relied on by Bp. Chr. Wordsworth in his Commentary, seems not to have been in use in our Lord's time. Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. 444, 452 N. So Schürer, II. ii. 81.

from the Prophets is said to have been introduced during the time of persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes. The public reading of the Law being then forbidden, readings from the Prophets were substituted, and these were retained as second lessons when the reading of the Law was again permitted.[1] In pre-exilic times, it may be remembered, provision had been made for public reading of Scripture. Every seven years at the Feast of Tabernacles Deuteronomy was to be read before the assembled people. (Deut. xxxi. 10–12.)

On certain solemn anniversaries special books of the Old Testament were read in the Synagogue: *e. g.* of the Hagiographa the five rolls containing (1) The Song of Songs, (2) Ruth, (3) Lamentations, (4) Ecclesiastes, (5) Esther, were kept separate for use respectively at (1) The Passover, (2) Pentecost, (3) the ninth of Abib, the day of the destruction of the Temple, (4) the Tabernacles, (5) Purim.

Such, so far as we can learn, was the regular Temple and Synagogue use of Scripture in our Lord's time. The records of God's dealings with His people, and of His words spoken through great

[1] *Prayer Book Interleaved*, p. 69. "The date at which readings from the Prophets took their place in the synagogues beside the readings from the Law was in any case much later than that at which the Psalms were systematically used in the central worship of Jerusalem." Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 252.

teachers whom He had raised up, were continually rehearsed in the ears of the people for their instruction and edification. In the services of both Temple and Synagogue our Lord joined with His disciples. From the first sabbath day in His public ministry, of which a detailed account is given by St. Mark (i. 21 sq.), it was Christ's custom, St. Luke tells us, to go into the synagogue on the sabbath days and to read and expound the Scriptures. (Luke iv. 16 sq. and 31, comp. vi. 6, xiii. 10, and Mark vi. 2.) The same course was followed later by the Apostles, as we read in the Acts. They frequented the synagogues, and accepted invitations to expound the Scriptures and exhort the congregation. (See Acts xiii. 14, 44; xvii. 2; xviii. 4.) They eagerly availed themselves of the preparation for Christianity furnished by the reading of the older Scriptures in the synagogues on every sabbath day in every city. (Acts xv. 21; xiii. 27.) It is naturally in the fourth Gospel, which narrates more particularly the Judæan ministry, that we hear of our Lord in the Temple. He went up to Jerusalem for the first Passover of His ministry (ii. 13), and again to another feast, whether the next year's Passover or some other (v. 1). Later He is at the Feast of Tabernacles (vii, viii), and seizes, in His teachings in the Temple courts, on leading ceremonial observances of the festival, the

morning drawing of water from Siloam and the evening illumination, to show their fulfilment, and that of the historical events which they commemorated, in Himself. It was at the Feast of Dedication that He declared Himself the good shepherd that would lay down his life for the sheep in conflict with their foe (x. 22). The people wonder whether in view of the known hostility of the rulers He will absent Himself from the final Passover (xi. 55), at which He, our true paschal lamb, was slain to take away the sins of the world. After the Ascension, when they are waiting for the promised gift of the Spirit, and again after Pentecost, the apostles and disciples are spoken of as frequenting the Temple, not only for teaching (as rabbis holding classes in its courts), but for prayer (Luke xxiv. 53; Acts ii. 46; iii. 1), and that, like other devout Israelites, at the time of sacrifice. This, the time of the evening sacrifice, is the meaning of "the hour of prayer," the ninth hour, *i. e.*, 3 P. M.

In what sense, we naturally ask, did the apostles and first disciples, after our Lord's instructions, hear and understand the Old Testament Scriptures, which for a long time, remember, remained the only Christian Bible? Dr. Armitage Robinson has written, "Christianity started upon her mission to the world with a book in her hand. That book was not the

New Testament, or any part of it. Not a word of it had then been written, nor could it at that time have seemed likely that any new writings could ever stand on an equality with the sacred book, long before completed, which Christianity had inherited from Judaism. The scriptures to which the apostles appealed were the Old Testament Scriptures. These held a unique position among the writings of the world. They contained the revelation of God to the chosen people of God, the revelation of His nature, and of His will for men. The apostles were taught by Christ that these scriptures pointed to Him as the fulfilment of their prophetic message; and thus on His authority they became the sacred book of the Christian Church." [1]

New light had been shed on the Old Testament Scriptures when our Lord after His resurrection expounded to the disciples "the things concerning Himself" in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms.[2]

[1] *The Study of the Gospels, ad init.*

[2] Our Lord's use of this threefold division of the Old Testament, we may observe, shows that He used and sanctioned the Jewish Scriptures as in His time they were gathered together.

(*a*) It is not certain, however, that the third division (the Hagiographa) had by this time been entirely closed.

(*b*) Nor does this use and sanction of the Old Testament Scriptures as a whole (on which our Lord relied as pointing to Himself, John v. 39), involve the pronouncing by Him of any judgment upon the authorship or date of particular books. (See

(Luke xxiv. 27, 44, 45.) Alike in figure and in word the old Scriptures showed, Jesus pointed out, that the Christ must suffer and so enter into His glory. Isaac offered in sacrifice, and as it were raised from death, received the blessing; Joseph, sold into bondage, was exalted to be a prince and saviour; Moses, rejected by the people, was their divinely appointed leader; David, persecuted by Saul, became his greater successor; Elijah and Jeremiah, famous among the prophets, and looked for to return to earth for a further ministry, were both persecuted by the reigning kings; Israel, the chosen nation, suffered bondage in Egypt and exile in Babylon; all illustrate the law of exaltation through suffering, the inevitableness in a fallen world of suffering for God's representative and witness. The seed of the woman can only gain the victory through struggle; his own heel will be wounded in crushing the serpent's head; "the Servant of the Lord" must pour out his soul unto death,— then shall he "divide the spoil with the strong."

Paley, quoted by Kirkpatrick, *Library of the Old Testament*, p. 105 N., and Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament*, p. 47.)

Sanday shows how the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms represent three layers or stages in the history of the collection of the books of the Old Testament. The Law was complete B. C. 444, the Prophets in the 3rd cent. B. C., the Hagiographa not finally till 100 A. D. This last date marks the formal decision of the Jewish doctors at Jamnia on the canonicity of certain books. *Inspiration*, lect. ii. p. 101.

Such great underlying principles of God's dealing with man, and therefore with the Son of man [1] (His only begotten Son become man), would probably have been "the things concerning Himself," in the older Scriptures which the Lord pointed out to His disciples, rather than any definite predictions of detailed incidents in His passion.[2]

Here I may quote the authority of Dr. Liddon, who is speaking of Jeremiah as a type of Christ: "This does not mean that there are certain resemblances, external, accidental, superficial, between these two lives, placed at such widely separated periods of history. For typology is not a fanciful study of resemblances which may be traced almost anywhere, and which mean really nothing when you have discovered them: it proceeds upon and presupposes a law of God's government of the world. That law is, that God is consistent with Himself amid the infinite variety of His work; that as He does not change His mind, the principles upon which He governs in one age are surely at work in another,

[1] See the note B on the title "The Son of Man," in Armitage Robinson's *Study of the Gospels*. The note ends (p. 66), "Wherever He uses the term He speaks not for Himself alone, but for 'man,' whom He has 'taken upon Himself, to deliver him.'"

[2] Compare R. L. Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament* (Bampton Lectures, 1897), p. 319.

and that therefore circumstances and characters and events will so far repeat themselves that one series will be a foreshadowing of another. And when once it is understood that Christ our Lord was the highest Goodness in human form, and that by His appearance He provoked the antagonism of the fiercest wickedness, it will be readily perceived that lesser forms of goodness and lesser forms of evil had a preparatory relation to these the consummate and perfect forms."[1] To this may be added a few words from Bishop Westcott: "The authority of Christ Himself encourages us to search for a deep and spiritual meaning under the ordinary words of Scripture, which, however, cannot be gained by any arbitrary allegorizing, but only by following patiently the course of God's dealings with man."[2]

Whether we examine (I) the leading "Messianic prophecies" (as they are styled) in the Old Testament, or (II) those which are applied to our Lord in the Gospels, and especially such as are said to have been claimed by Him as fulfilled in Himself, this larger view will be seen to be confirmed. It will only be possible to point here to a few leading instances of both these classes.

[1] "Christ's Tears over Jerusalem," in *Sermons on Some Words of Christ*, p. 242.

[2] *Introduction to Study of the Gospels.*

(I) The promise of the Seed of the woman in Genesis iii (the *Protevangelium*, as it has been commonly and aptly termed) is a general declaration of the law of conflict between man and evil, perfectly realized in Christ.

St. Matthew's quotation of Isaiah's prophecy concerning the child to be born who should be named Emmanuel, is a new application of the truth of God's presence with His people, realized in deeper fashion in the Incarnation.

In Daniel's vision of "one like unto a son of man," to whom is given dominion, and glory, and a kingdom all-embracing and everlasting, the promise is that the brute kingdoms of force, represented by the various wild beasts, shall be superseded by the human rule of spirituality and order, realized in Christ's kingdom.[1]

"The Servant of the Lord" in the second Isaiah primarily stands for Israel as the covenant people, God's servant for the world, to bring the nations to the knowledge of the truth; the description passes on to Israel's great Representative.

[1] Compare the vision in 2 Esdras xiii, where "the writer of the later apocalypse evidently sees a reference to the Messiah in the language of his prototype," but where he does not use the title "the Son of man," but simply describes the figure as "like unto a man." Stanton, "Messiah," *Hastings' Dictionary*, iii. 355 B.

In the same way Psalms like ii and lxxii may tell of the kingdom of Solomon or a successor, idealized by the poet who caught sight of God's purpose, only partially realized in the monarchs to whom immediate reference is made, but to be perfectly fulfilled, and in better and more spiritual ways than the Psalmist imagined, in the reign of the expected Christ. Or the Psalms, like prophecies of the second Isaiah or of Zechariah, may be visions of the ideal king's reign, based more directly upon the promises to David.

So with Psalms that we naturally apply to the Passion of our Lord: some like Psalm lxix seem to be based on the experience, personal or national, of the writer, the description being expanded in poetical fashion, so that it may well express the suffering of the Man of Sorrows; others like Psalm xxii are more probably figurative descriptions of an ideal and representative sufferer, God's faithful servant and witness.

(II) Turning to prophecies of the Old Testament quoted in the New Testament as fulfilled in our Lord, it must be borne in mind that it was the custom of Jewish teachers to cite some striking phrase in order to illustrate the principle contained in the whole context. Catchwords stood for a whole passage, the sense of which was called to mind. In

this light we may see that the quotations at the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel are not arbitrary and fanciful applications to Christ of words which were spoken with an entirely different reference. The words of Hosea, "Out of Egypt have I called my son," are quoted with reference to the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt. The point of the quotation is that, as the old Israel (God's son by adoption as His chosen people) was delivered from danger of famine, and led into Egypt, and then wonderfully brought back from thence, so God's minute providential care was shown in the shelter found in Egypt for the Holy Child (His incarnate Son) to escape the malice of Herod.

In the same way in Zechariah's prophecy (quoted with reference to the entry into Jerusalem in both the first and fourth Gospels), the riding on the ass is a striking incident in the picture of the ideal king, who comes not as a warrior or with martial pomp, but as the prince of peace, displaying moral qualities of attractiveness, meek and lowly, reigning in righteousness. As Bishop Westcott says,[1] the stress must be laid not on the literal coincidence, but upon the fulfilment of the *idea* which the sign conveyed. The literal coincidence may be regarded, in Dr. Arnold's phrase, as a fulfilment *ex abundanti*.[2]

[1] On St. John xii. 15. [2] Second Sermon on Prophecy.

It may have been intentional on the part of our Lord, and pointed to His consciousness of being Himself the fulfilment of the prophecy; it was hardly a matter of calculation intended to impress the multitude.[1] A detailed examination of the prophecies which in the Gospels are quoted as fulfilled in Christ must be reserved for a note.[2] Such an examination will, it is believed, sustain the position stated here, namely, that the New Testament citation of the Old Testament is, at any rate for the most part, fundamental. It is not a piecing together of fragmentary types; but the laying hold of great truths concerning God and concerning man, which are shown to be perfectly realized and fulfilled in Christ the incarnate Son and Word of God, the ideal and representative Man.

When we come to sub-apostolic writers, like Barnabas and Justin Martyr, who tried to reproduce this, we see how far short they fall of the general New Testament standard.[3] It should be our con-

[1] Prof. A. B. Davidson, *Hastings' Dictionary*, art. "Prophecy," iv. p. 125 B.

[2] See Appendix A, p. 171.

[3] Of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, probably written in Hadrian's reign, Dr. Hort says, it "is a striking example of what the apostolic teaching about the old covenant is *not*." *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 191. On the difference between these writers and those of the New Testament see Stanton's *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, ch. v, pp. 189–193.

stant endeavour to regain the New Testament point of view. "Prophecy," as has been said, "is not inverted history. It was not a reflection beforehand by which men could foreknow what was to come. It was rather the seed and the germ out of which in due time plant and flower and fruit were to be developed."[1]

It is not, of course, intended to deny that events may have been so ordered by God's providence that even in minute details prophetic descriptions or typical illustrations were fulfilled in our Lord Jesus Christ. But it certainly is important that people's minds should not be allowed, much less taught, to dwell on such coincidences, often fragmentary, as if these were the chief fulfilments of prophecy — rather than on the great truths which in these details found expression. "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law and the prophets," said our Lord; "not one jot or one tittle shall pass away till all be fulfilled."[2] "Fulfilment," as Dr. Kirkpatrick says, "is the completion of what was before imperfect; it is the real-

[1] Kirkpatrick, *Divine Library of the Old Testament*, p. 125. "In general, it was more the actual life of Christ that suggested to New Testament writers the application to Him of Old Testament passages, than a prevalent method of interpreting the passages. They saw in His life the full religious meaning of the passages, and the question of their original sense or application did not occur to them." Prof. A. B. Davidson, art. "Immanuel." *Hastings' Dictionary*, ii. p. 456 A.

[2] Matt. v. 17, 18.

ization of what was shadowy; it is the development of what was rudimentary; it is the union of what was isolated and disconnected; it is the perfect growth from the antecedent germ."[1] The meaning of the fulfilment of which Christ speaks is shown in the illustrations given in close connection with this declaration in St. Matthew v. The underlying principle of earlier commandments is seized on and enforced and carried to its full development: *e. g.*, the angry and contemptuous word, or the spirit of variance, is shown to be a breach of the sixth commandment of the Decalogue; the unrestrained look, the impure desire, to be forbidden by the seventh.[2]

It is the same with the sacrifices of the old law. They were not, as is often supposed, directly typical of Christ's sacrifice; but in various ways they taught the great moral meaning of sacrifice, which in Him is fulfilled. Hebrews x, both in its quotation of Psalm xl and in its reference to the roll of the law, confirms and illustrates this position. Neither in the psalm nor in the law is there any direct reference to Christ, but to *man's* duty of obedience, which is realized in the Son of man, and to the training in obedience which was provided in the Jewish law. Christian writers have seen in the details of the

[1] *Div. Libr.*, p. 134.

[2] See Bp. Moorhouse, *The Teaching of Christ*, p. 85.

Levitical ritual applications to Christian mysteries, which they have regarded as types. Here again it is really the underlying fundamental truth shadowed forth in these symbolic ceremonies on which our attention should be fastened, however later writers may have failed to apprehend this, and have sunk to a lower and less worthy system of typical explanation.

How far, and to what extent, prophecy at its greatest height became definitely and exclusively Messianic, in the sense that the Messiah's life and work were foreseen in detail by the prophet, is a point of much difficulty. In general it seems that the prophets' words have an immediate reference to their own times, which gains a fuller meaning — its fullest — in Christ. All priests, all kings, all prophets, all warriors, all sufferers, all righteous men were types of Him, the Son of man, who perfectly and completely realizes what they variously and imperfectly shadowed forth in life and work. Prophets and psalmists doubtless in their visions saw their immediate declarations amplified and idealized, so that all that Christ came to be and do was prefigured in the Jewish Church; but rather in principle than in detail.[1]

[1] A valuable discussion of the Jewish Messianic expectation — national and personal — will be found in Prof. V. H. Stanton's article "Messiah" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. "Before

The Old Testament is the book — or the library — of God's chosen people. Israel was to be the school of the world, where man should receive his religious education, as other nations fulfilled other tasks, and made other contributions to the world's development.[1] The fundamental principles of the growing revelation vouchsafed to Israel find their realization in Christ, the Son of David, the seed of Abraham, the Son of man, the incarnate Son of God.

There are, it may be said, four great ideas around which the growing revelation circles, which find their consummation in Christ.

1. On the divine side is the promise, often repeated, of the presence of the LORD in the midst of His people, to be their King and Lawgiver, their Defender and Judge.

the historical realization in Jesus Christ, and apart from belief in Him, it must have been extremely difficult to combine the idea of suffering with the conception of the promised king derived from the representations of Old Testament prophecy generally. It can have been possible at all only for men of unusual depth of spiritual insight and sympathy with the sorrows of their people." Vol. iii. p. 355 A.

[1] This is an Athanasian idea. *De Incarnatione*, 12. "For neither was the Law for the Jews alone, nor were the Prophets sent for them only, but, though sent to the Jews and persecuted by the Jews, they were for all the world a holy school of the knowledge of God and the conduct of the soul." Archibald Robertson's translation in *Nicene Fathers*, vol. iv. p. 43.

2. On the more distinctly human side there are what may be called the three great charters of the Old Testament: First, the promise to Abraham, that in his seed all the nations should be blessed. (Gen. xii. 3, xxii. 18.) Second, the Mosaic charter in Exodus xix, having an ethical and spiritual aspect, promising to the people of Israel, "If ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me from among all peoples; for all the earth is mine; and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." Third, the promise to David through Nathan in 2 Sam. vii, "I will set up thy seed after thee, and I will establish his kingdom. . . . I will be his father and he shall be my son."

Round these great promises Jewish thought and prophetic teaching crystallized. These root ideas were gradually developed with increasing spiritual apprehension. One great group of prophecies would fall under the head of the promise of God's presence among His people, fulfilled in more wondrous and blessed fashion than they ever imagined in the personal incarnation of the Son or Word of God. The LORD, their covenant God, is represented as coming to His people, not only in the word of His prophets or in wonderful works that He accomplishes on their behalf, but in a more personal and objective manner

to visit His temple, to dwell in Jerusalem. His coming is a day of judgment, it brings salvation to His people. (Amos iv. 12, Isa. ii.) At other times the LORD is manifested in the Davidic king, His representative, who, because of God's presence with him, may even be called by Divine names.[1]

In the New Testament both these classes of passages are interpreted in a Messianic sense. "To New Testament writers Christ had approved Himself as God manifest in the flesh, and even such passages as were spoken by the Old Testament writer of Jehovah are regarded as fulfilled in Him and spoken of Him, for no distinction was drawn between these two things."[2] Accordingly the Baptist preparing the way of Christ is recognized as the messenger who goes before the face of Jehovah;[3] and words spoken, as in Psalms cii, of Jehovah as the eternal Creator and Upholder of the universe are

[1] See Prof. A. B. Davidson in *Hastings' Dictionary*, iv. p. 122 A. Compare Ottley: "Both elements [of the Davidic king and the self-manifesting Jehovah] enter into the general current of Messianic thought, but they find fulfilment and mutual adjustment only in the person of Jesus Christ. In Ezek. xxxiv. 11, 24 we find an instance of the *juxtaposition* of the two ideas. In this and in other instances it is evident that there were parallel streams of prediction which, owing to necessary limitations in the prophetic faculty, were not brought into combination." Art. "Incarnation," in *Hastings' Dictionary*, ii. p. 459 A.

[2] Davidson, as quoted above.

[3] Isa. xl. 1-11, Mark i. 2.

applied at the beginning of the Hebrews to our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God made man, by whom indeed as the Father's agent all things at the first were made, and in whom as the Father's representative God draws near to His people.[1]

II. Under the first great charter, the promise to Abraham, there was gradually developed the idea of Israel as the Servant of the Lord to bring the nations to the knowledge of God. Israel is to conquer and rule, but to conquer through suffering, to rule through spiritual influence.

These ethical conceptions are more clearly developed in the description of Israel as a kingdom of priests, and in the individual picture of the ideally righteous man which is continually presented in the Psalms. From an external holiness in the observance of ceremonial precepts there is built up the true conception of a man after God's own heart, meditat-

[1] Ps. cii. 25–27, Heb. i. 10–12. See Westcott's note in *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 28: "The psalm itself is the appeal of an exile to the LORD, in which out of the depth of distress he confidently looks for the personal intervention of Jehovah for the restoration of Zion. The application to the Incarnate Son of words addressed to Jehovah rests on the essential conception of the relation of Jehovah to His people. The Covenant leads up to the Incarnation. And historically it was through the identification of the coming of Christ with the coming of the LORD, that the Apostles were led to the perception of His true Divinity. Comp. Acts ii. 16 ff., 21, 36; iv. 10, 12, ix. 20."

ing in His law, doing justly and loving mercy, and walking humbly with his God.

The Davidic king who should reign in righteousness, who should so truly represent the Lord that he might be called by His name, who should be His son (Psalm ii), is a constant subject of prophecy. The comparison of the actual condition of the people and the kingdom with the great principles of morals enunciated by God, and with the great conceptions of Israel's vocation, led the people to look forward to One in whom God's word would be truly realized. In a personal Messiah, as the representative of Israel, prophets and people gradually came to see that Israel's vocation marked out in these great charters would find adequate and full realization. Speaking of the expectation of the King to come, Prof. George Adam Smith says, "Each age, of course, expected him in the qualities of power and character needed for its own troubles, and the ideal changed from glory unto glory. From valour and victory in war, it became peace and good government, care for the poor and oppressed, sympathy with the sufferings of the whole people, but especially of the righteous among them, with fidelity to the truth delivered unto the fathers, and finally a conscience for the people's sin, a bearing of their punishment, and a travail for their spiritual redemption. But all these

qualities and functions were gathered upon an individual — a Victor, a King, a Prophet, a Martyr, a Servant of the Lord."[1]

"In a sense, great part of the Old Testament is Messianic. For it is just the peculiarity of the Old Testament that it struck out lofty moral and redemptive ideals, on occasions the most diverse, and in connection with personages and in circumstances very various. These ideals were ultimately combined together to express the being of Him who was the ideal on all sides. But this Messianic of the Old Testament was, so to speak, unconscious. The writers had not the future king in their minds. They were speaking of other persons, or they were uttering presentiments, or what seemed to them religious necessities, or projecting forward brilliant spiritual hopes and anticipations. . . . Further, they had received the hope of the great deliverer, and he became a centre around whom the ideals, whether of glory or holiness or even of suffering, could be gathered, and they attached them to him."[2]

We have been led to consider the way in which, with the light thrown on them by our Lord's exposition, the apostles and the early Christians (whom

[1] *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. i. p. 410.

[2] Prof. A. B. Davidson, on "Prophecy" in *Hastings' Dictionary*, iv. 124.

they in turn instructed) would have understood the Old Testament Scriptures as they heard them read in the synagogues which they frequented, or in their own assemblies for distinctively Christian worship. "They turned again, as Jesus had taught them to do,[1] to their ancient Scriptures, and read them with new eyes. They found scattered there the elements of a relatively complete ideal which had been perfectly fulfilled in Jesus. The process by which they combined them was uncritical, and was to a large extent performed unconsciously, but the result was in harmony with essential truth."[2]

The gradual development of God's revelation, as men were able to receive it, we shall have an opportunity of considering further in a later lecture. My point now is to show that in a very true sense the New Testament lies hid in the Old Testament, that the Old Testament is unfolded in the New; that all the older Scriptures point to Christ, not by arbitrary and fragmentary types, but by the proclamation of fundamental truths which find in Him their realization, and that this is what we are chiefly to fasten our attention on, the perfect fulfilment in Christ our Lord of the underlying truths and principles exem-

[1] Mark xii. 10, 24, with Matt. xxi. 42, xxii. 29; Mark xiv. 49, with Matt. xxvi. 54, Luke iv. 17, John v. 39, &c.

[2] Stanton, art. "Messiah," in *Hastings' Dictionary*, iii. 356.

plified in prophetic descriptions. So Dr. Illingworth writes in *Reason and Revelation*,[1] summing up a helpful passage on the appeal to Prophecy in the light of modern criticism: "Seen in this light, the particular prophecies, which have always been regarded in the Christian Church as Messianic, retain their traditional character. For however clearly they may be shown to be primarily concerned with contemporary persons and events, these persons and events were stages in the development of the great Messianic history; partial anticipations, and therefore types of the complete realization which was still to come, and in coming to appropriate the whole prophetic argument to itself. Thus the mode in which we regard the evidence of prophecy may be somewhat altered; but the weight of the evidence, so far from being diminished by the alteration, is immensely increased."[2]

Such considerations concerning Messianic prophecies and types seem to me valuable and important in two ways.

[1] Page 159.

[2] "It is noticeable, in regard to the Messianic hope in its earlier stages, that the actual history of Israel itself gives birth to Messianic conceptions, *e. g.*, the Exodus from Egypt helped to give form and colour to the natural expectations of future deliverance from foes and oppressors; the rise of prophecy and of the kingdom suggested the image of an ideal prophet and a righteous king." — R. L. Ottley, art. "Incarnation," *Hastings' Dictionary*, ii. 459 A.

First, This view that I have presented avoids what repels many people in our day as fanciful and arbitrary, if not petty, in the treatment of types, and offers them instead a reasonable and broad explanation.

Secondly, It reminds us that the great principles of the Old Testament, which were perfectly realized by our Lord, last on for us. They belong to the Son of man, because they belong to man; they belong to all sons of men, because they belong to the Son of man. Again to quote Dr. Kirkpatrick, "*Fulfilment* does not *exhaust* prophecy. It interprets it, and gathers up its scattered elements into a new combination, possessing fresh and abiding and ever-increasing significance."[1] Thus are the sacred writings of the old dispensation profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for discipline in righteousness; thus are they able to make us, as well as Timothy and the early Christians, wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus.[2]

[1] *Divine Library of the Old Testament*, p. 125.
[2] 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

LECTURE II

THE USE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IN THE EUCHARISTIC SERVICE

We pass from the worship of the Jewish Church in which our Lord took part, and which the apostles continued to attend even after the Day of Pentecost, to the worship which is distinctively Christian. Of this, in the earliest days, our contemporary evidence is but scanty, and we must be content with inferences from such hints as are given. The first disciples, we are told, "continued stedfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people." (Acts ii. 46, 47.)

The conjunction a few verses earlier of "the breaking of bread" with "the prayers" seems to show that "the breaking of bread" included, at least, the sacred meal of the Eucharist. In the first days apparently at Jerusalem believers gathered together

in companies for their common meal each evening, as the Twelve had been accustomed to have a daily meal with our Lord. This common meal, as Mr. Rackham says, "must have held a central place in their life. It was the bond of fellowship; it gave opportunity for common worship and mutual instruction and exhortation; it provided sustenance for the poorer members of society, like the widows."[1] The Eucharist probably formed a part — the climax — of this common meal, which in itself had a religious character. Our Lord's words at the institution were understood by the apostles as a command to "do this" as often as they ate and drank together as a society.[2]

As the Church grew, two changes seem to have naturally come about. (1) The daily meal became impracticable. The Agape became a less frequent, probably a weekly, gathering, ordinarily on Saturday evening. (2) Owing to abuses, which followed the gradual fading of the sacred character of the whole meal, the Eucharist was separated from the Agape, the former being celebrated early on Sunday morning, often after the Saturday night vigil, the latter being after a time removed to a later hour

[1] *Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles*, by Richard B. Rackham, in Oxford Commentaries, p. 37.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

on the Lord's Day.[1] This is the arrangement which Pliny's well-known letter (A. D. 104) would seem to imply. The Christians, he tells Trajan, were accustomed to meet on a set day before it was light, and sing a hymn together alternately to Christ as God, and to bind themselves by an oath (or sacrament — the pledge was probably involved in the sacrament as we would use the word) to commit no crime; "which things being done, they were wont to depart, and to meet again to take food in common."[2]

I

In these early days, and for a considerable time, the Eucharist was the one distinctive Christian service to which all disciples would gather. As such it absorbed, or gathered round itself, all the different elements of worship.[3] Among these the reading of the Scriptures held a prominent place in the introductory part of the service, in what would later be

[1] For a popular account of the relation of the Agape to the Eucharist, see Dr. Bright's *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, pp. 106–109; and for a fuller discussion see Appendix C in Hort and Mayor's edition of the Seventh Book of Clement's *Stromateis*.

[2] The correspondence between Pliny and Trajan is given in Eus. E. H. iii. 33. *Nicene Fathers* (2nd series), vol. i. pp. 164–166.

[3] *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1902, p. 162.

styled the Mass of the Catechumens. "The memoirs of the Apostles, or the writings of the Prophets, are read as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things." So Justin Martyr (A. D. 140), in his *Apology*,[1] describes the procedure at the beginning of the Sunday Eucharist. The reading of lessons from the Law and the Prophets was naturally taken over from the Synagogue, and the Old Testament lection was for long retained. Martene quotes a liturgical writer in the middle of the sixth century as making this comment in an exposition of the office: "The Prophetic lesson (to wit, that of the Old Testament) keeps its due place, rebuking evil things and announcing future, that we may understand that He is the same God who thundered in the Prophets as who taught in the Apostle, and shone forth in the brightness of the Gospel."[2] By degrees the Old Testament reading was generally dropped. A trace of it remains in our Prayer Book, in the occasional use of a portion of Scripture from the Prophets for the Epistle, as on Ash Wednesday, the Monday and Tuesday before Easter, and on the Sunday before Advent.

[1] I. 67.

[2] Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, ch. VI, sec. ii.

To the Old Testament lessons, from the Law and the Prophets, would be added as opportunity offered letters written by Apostles to the particular Church or congregation of Christians, or to a neighbouring Church, these letters being handed on from one to another, as St. Paul gave directions in the case of Colosse and Laodicea.[1] In this way apostolic writings gradually came to be added to the writings of the older dispensation. It may be worth while to pause here and note the gradual formation of the New Testament canon, which seems to have grown from the selection of writings which were to be read along with the older Scriptures in the public assemblies of the faithful.[2] The early Christians were familiar with the Jewish canon which marked off certain writings from others, as containing in a special sense the Word of God. To these they by degrees added writings of their own spiritual teachers, sifting those which they put in the first place of authority from others, as the Jews had done.[3] This determination was of course only gradually accomplished, and lists varied for a time in different churches.[4] The

[1] Col. iv. 16.

[2] The Council of Laodicea (A. D. 363) gave a list of books "which should be read in the church," including all our present canon, except the Revelation.

[3] Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 511 A.

[4] (*a*) In the Muratorian fragment, A. D. 200, we have the

list was determined by a twofold test, objective and subjective: (1) Inquiry was made as to the authorship of a book; was it the writing of an apostle or an immediate disciple of the apostles? The special authority of the apostles rests on their having been themselves taught by our Lord, and bearing witness to that which they had seen and heard, and on their having received special gifts of the Holy Spirit for their work as the founders under Christ of the Church; they are thought of as vouching for the testimony of their immediate disciples.

(2) Further, in subordination to the first test, the writing must approve itself to the spiritual conscious-

oldest list of books of the New Testament, which includes the four Gospels, Acts, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul (this would omit Hebrews), and 1 Peter and 1 John.

(*b*) Eusebius, A. D. 300, included in the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, *i. e.*, disputed books, commonly but not universally accepted, James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Revelation. E. H. iii. 25. See McGiffert's note in *Nicene Fathers*, vol. i. pp. 155, 156.

(*c*) In the West a Synod of Carthage, at which St. Augustine was present, probably in 397 (perhaps earlier), prohibited the reading in church of any but canonical books, and gave a list exactly corresponding with our own, not only in contents but in the order of the books. With this list agree those in the East of Athanasius (d. 373) and Epiphanius (403). Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) and Gregory Nazianzen (392) differ from it only in the omission of the Apocalypse. The Syrian canon of Chrysostom (d. 407) and others omitted 2 Peter, Jude, 2 and 3 John, and Revelation. See Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 435–439; Sanday, *Inspiration*, lect. i. pp. 8–10.

ness of the Christian Church. The Spirit taught the body of the faithful to recognize the utterances of the Spirit in apostolic writers. Spiritual things were spiritually judged and discerned. As the Dean of Westminster puts it in his valuable little book on "The Study of the Gospels,"[1] "Church decrees did not create the canon; they only registered at length the completion of the long process by which the instinct of the Church under the Divine guidance had come to recognize certain books."

To return. We have seen the development of the liturgical "Epistle," or "Apostle," as it was commonly termed in older days. Earlier in origin in its most rudimentary form, while later in its full development, was the Gospel. At first narratives of the Lord's life and teaching were probably orally delivered. Then these narratives committed to writing were read, gradually assuming the shape of our four Gospels. Difficult as are the questions concerning the composition of the Synoptic Gospels and their relation one to another, Dr. Sanday claims that he "can speak with great confidence" when he asserts "that the great mass of the narrative of the first three Gospels took its shape before the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, within less than

[1] Page 6; compare Sanday, *Inspiration*, lect. i. p. 53.

forty years of the events."[1] With reference to the fourth Gospel, Dr. Sanday (who has made the book a special study) holds that its narrative also, "whenever it was set down upon paper, assumed substantially the shape in which we have it under conditions similar to those which lie behind the Synoptic Gospels, and bearing even stronger marks of originality and nearness to the facts."[2]

In his interesting book *The Risen Master*,[3] the late Mr. Latham suggests that "the earliest written records" of our Lord's life "were isolated passages, of about the length of our Gospels in our Liturgy;" that these "sections" were drawn up in a condensed form partly because parchment was expensive, and partly because they were intended to be learned by heart. This conjecture would help to solve a good many difficulties concerning the Gospels as we have them, into which these sections were incorporated; *e. g.*, the appearance in different Gospels, or in different manuscripts, of the same narrative in different places.

In the Liturgy the Epistle precedes the Gospel, both as historically earlier, and in order to give to the Gospel the place of dignity, marking the climax of God's revelation. As the record of the life and

[1] *Inspiration*, p. 283. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 287.
[3] Pages 221, 222, 232.

teaching of the incarnate Son of God, the Gospel naturally held a place of pre-eminent honour among the Scriptures that were read. Up to this other Scriptures led, the Law, the Prophecy, the Apostle. Round it were gathered Psalms, corresponding with the later gradual.[1] "We heard," says St. Augustine, "the first lesson of the Apostle [1 Tim. i. 15, 16, 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all men to be received']; we next sang a Psalm [xcv. 6, 2, 'O come let us worship and fall down']; after this the Gospel lesson showed the cleansing of the ten lepers [Luke xvii. 12–19]." (Serm. clxxvi. 1.)

Some will recall the striking account of the Eucharist in *Marius the Epicurean*, a sentence of which I venture to quote here, as fitting in with what has been said both in this lecture and in the first. After speaking of the other sacred readings, "with bursts of chanted invocation between, for fuller light on a difficult path," "last of all" (says Mr. Pater), "came a narrative, in a form which every one appeared to know by heart, with a thousand tender memories, and which displayed, in all the vividness of a picture for the eye, the mournful figure of him, towards

[1] For the psalms and hymns which preceded and followed the Eucharistic lessons, see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, ch. vi, sec. ii and v. The *Gradual* (*psalmus gradualis*) was so called because it was sung from the *steps* of the Epistle ambo or pulpit. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (E. T.), p. 114.

whom the intention of this whole act of worship was directed — a figure which seemed to have absorbed, like a tincture of deep dyes into his vesture all that was deep-felt and impassioned in the experience of the past." (Pp. 370, 371.)

In the Apostolic Constitutions it is ordered, "Let the reader stand upon some high place; let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from Captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon and of the sixteen Prophets. When there have been two lessons read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses. Afterwards let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-worker which he sent to the Churches under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and afterwards let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels."[1] In these same directions, and by Sozomen,[2] we are told of all, both clergy and people, standing when the Gospel was read; by St. Jerome of tapers being then lighted;[3] by St. Chrysostom of a doxology being sung.[4] Sozo-

[1] Apost. Const. II. lvii (Ante-Nicene Lib., xvii. p. 84); comp. VIII. v (A. N. L., 216). Lagarde (1862), pp. 85, 239.

[2] Eccl. Hist. vii. 19 (*Nicene Fathers* (2nd series), ii. p. 390).

[3] *Against Vigilantius*, 7 (*Nicene Fathers* (2nd series), vi. 420).

[4] *Opp.* t. viii. p. 720 (Gaume).

men's words are worth quoting. Enumerating varying customs and traditions in different Churches (for the sake of which, he says, Polycarp and Victor[1] faithfully and justly assumed that there ought to be no separation one from another among those who were agreed in the essentials of worship), Sozomen says: "Another strange custom prevails at Alexandria, which I have never witnessed or heard of elsewhere, and this is, that when the Gospel is read the bishop does not rise from his seat. The archdeacon alone reads the Gospel in this city, whereas in some places it is read by the deacons, and in many Churches only by the priests; while on noted days it is read by the bishops, as for instance at Constantinople on the first day of the festival of the Resurrection."

All this, let me point out, has its significance for all time, and for ourselves. The reading of the Scriptures (with which naturally follows some exposition of their meaning, or exhortation based upon them) is an integral part of the Eucharistic service. The communication of Truth must accompany the ministration of Grace. The presentation of the model of our life naturally precedes the offering of the mould in which our lives are to be re-cast after the perfect pattern. We must learn what we should be, ere we can profitably seek and use the means of

[1] For Victor, Sozomen must mean Anicetus.

help and transformation. This relation of Scripture and Sacrament, as embodying respectively the revelation of Truth and the gift of Grace, needs to be kept in mind. It should serve as a safeguard against the dangerous tendency to regard and approach sacraments in a mechanical fashion. It will suggest rules or hints for the devotional use of the appointed Scriptures in preparation for receiving the Communion. There must be a feeding of the mind on God's Word of instruction, as well as a strengthening and refreshing of our spiritual powers by contact with the renewed humanity of our Head and Saviour. So the author of the *Imitation* says:

"Two things in this life above all I feel I need,
Without which I could scarcely bear these days of misery,
Here, in the prison of the body pent,
I know it, I need two, —
Food, light.
Therefore hast Thou given me in my weakness
Thy holy body to refresh my mind and mortal frame;
Thou hast set up Thy word, a lantern for my feet.
Robbed of these two, I cannot live aright.
My soul's light is God's word,
My bread of life — Thy sacrament."[1]

"This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." (St. John xvii. 2.) "That passage" from our Lord's High Priestly Prayer, says Archdeacon Free-

[1] Bk. III. ch. xi (*Musica Ecclesiastica*).

man in his *Principles of Divine Service*,[1] "is the Church's warrant to the end of time, for making much of Divine knowledge, as the proper complement, the involved accessory, to sacramental reception of Christ."

With increased frequency of Communion let me urge very earnestly the importance (both for the clergy and for lay people) of some kind of meditation, especially on the Gospels, as giving the climax of God's revelation. "What Jesus was, God is." What Jesus was while He was on the earth, as His life is pourtrayed in the Gospels, that God is. "He that hath seen me," He Himself declared, "hath seen the Father,"[2] that which we really desire and need to know about God, His character and moral being, the way in which He regards the world and us. The moral glory of God — His truth, His love, His justice, His purity — shines forth in the face of Jesus Christ, says St. Paul.[3] And "What Jesus was, man should be," and by His help may more and more become, His grace being pledged to us in the sacraments of His Church, whereby through the operation of His Spirit we are made partakers of His renewed humanity.

Or again, if we think of the Eucharist more particularly on its sacrificial side, as the appointed

[1] Vol. i. p. 349. [2] John xiv. 9. [3] 2 Cor. iv. 6.

memorial of our Lord's passion, wherein we show forth and glory in His victorious death, the reading of the Scriptures has its place, and is a natural part of the service; whether the narrative of His life and death, or the precepts of God's will perfectly fulfilled in His obedience unto death, which (let us always remember) is the essence of His sacrifice.

The arrangements of the Holy Place of the Tabernacle recall and illustrate the relation of Scripture and Sacrament, of Gospel and Eucharist. On one side of the altar of incense was the seven-branched candlestick, on the other the table of the shew bread. Within the ark itself, according to the writer to the Hebrews,[1] were laid up as treasures, along with Aaron's rod that blossomed (the figure of the legitimate priesthood), the tables of the law, and the pot of manna, the symbols respectively of light and strength. Taught by Scripture and fed by Sacrament, we are to press on until at last within the veil we behold the King in His beauty, and then the promise is, "We shall be like Him; for we shall see Him even as He is."[2]

[1] Heb. ix. 4. I follow the author of the Epistle in placing all these treasures within the ark. From the Old Testament references it may be that only the tables of the covenant were within, the rod and the pot of manna being laid up alongside of the ark, "before the testimony."

[2] 1 John iii. 2.

II

We turn from the place of Scripture reading in the Eucharistic service to provisions for its orderly reading. "From the time of Pope Damasus (A. D. 400) the ecclesiastical writers first begin to refer to fixed lections from Holy Scripture."[1] The *Comes* or lectionary was a well-known directory at the end of the fifth century, arranged either by St. Jerome (to whom it is commonly ascribed) or by some person of authority living in or near Rome about the same time.[2] The Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Holy-days in our Prayer Book (which with a very few changes are the same as in the Sarum missal) follow this arrangement of the fifth century, more closely than does the present Roman use.[3]

The general principle of the selection (commonly, though not perhaps always, perceptible) seems to be this. In the earlier, and as we may call it the doctrinal, half of the Christian Year, from Advent to Trinity, the appointed Gospels set before us declarations or illustrations of the great facts of our creed commemorated at the different seasons, and the Epistle is adapted to the Gospel or to the season.

[1] Freeman, *Principles*, ii. 415.

[2] W. H. Frere, *A new history of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 465.

[3] See Freeman, ii. 414.

In the second, or practical, half of the year (for the Sundays after Trinity, as we describe them) the Epistles take the lead, so to speak, with teaching concerning the Christian life, which the Gospels for the most part serve to illustrate. It will be seen at once that for the Sundays after Trinity the Epistles follow a regular course, being taken from different writers in order, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and from St. Paul's general Epistles in the order in which they stand in our ordinary Bibles. The Gospels for this part of the year, recounting parables, or miracles, or conversations of our Lord, have no such sequence, but seem to be chosen (as I have said) to illustrate a leading theme of the Epistle. Take for example the first three Sundays after Trinity. On the first the parable of Dives and Lazarus follows St. John's teaching concerning love of the brethren; on the second, the excuses made by the bidden but unwilling guests are a contrast to the loving obedience taught in the Epistle; on the third the rejoicing over the lost and found illustrates the sympathy in trial of which St. Peter speaks.

In the Greek Church for the Epistles from Easter to Trinity the Acts of the Apostles are read; during the remainder of the year the Apostolic Epistles are taken in consecutive order. Their Gospels are selected from St. John from Easter to Pentecost, from St.

Matthew from Pentecost to Holy Cross (Sept. 14), from St. Luke from Holy Cross to Septuagesima; St. Mark is read in Lent, and is also fitted in for lesser days in the latter part of St. Matthew's term.[1] It will be noticed that our Western custom agrees with the Eastern rule in assigning the fourth Gospel to the Easter season; it will also be noted how few are the Gospels taken from St. Mark; in our order only two Sundays in the whole year (the Seventh and Twelfth after Trinity) are so provided for, along with Ascension Day, and two days in Holy Week, when the Passion is read according to each of the four Evangelists.

The advantages of the fourfold Gospel we must all feel greatly to outweigh any harmonistic or other perplexities that it involves, in the richer and fuller portraiture of the perfect Life which is so presented, viewed from different standpoints, mental and spiritual. May not these very variations in the conception and representation of the One Figure remind us, and specially at the Eucharist (where all by partaking of the one loaf, one body, become one loaf, one body[2]) of the large-hearted and generous welcome that should be extended to persons of varying opinions within the limits of the Catholic faith? Men

[1] See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquity*, art. "Lectionary."
[2] 1 Cor. x. 17.

come from every quarter, all entering (be it noted) through the appointed gates, and bringing each his own contribution of homage and tribute to the sovereign Lord of all.[1]

The Eastern arrangement of reading at the Eucharist one Evangelist for a succession of weeks (the plan which is followed in our daily lessons) suggests a recommendation (the value of which is confirmed by experience), that in courses of Lent and Holy Week sermons we might with profit more frequently preach the Passion according to one or other of the Evangelists, instead of attempting a harmony of the different narratives, or promiscuously fastening on events and mysteries, peculiar to one or common to all, without consideration of their place and significance each in its own story. This suggestion would apply, of course, to other portions of the Gospel, as well as to the account of our Lord's passion. Another thought I would in this connection commend to your consideration. We may reasonably regret the lack in our Prayer Book of any special Eucharistic Scriptures (or collects) for marked occasions, such as a Marriage, a Burial, or the assembly of a Church Council. On the other hand there is, it seems to me, a certain compensation in our general system (which was the older arrangement) of making

[1] Rev. xxi. 12–14, 24–27.

the service for the day or week serve for all, save the most extraordinary, occasions. The varying individual or common experiences of human life are thus brought each in turn under the shadow, as it were, or one might better say into the illumination, of the same great truths of our holy religion, sustaining us in tribulation and steadying in prosperity, our guide in life, our stay in death. *Stat crux dum volvitur orbis.*

III

Besides the reading of the lessons (the Epistle and Gospel) for the instruction of the people, there are other forms of the more devotional use of Scripture in the Eucharistic service.

(*a*) First, the central position of the Lord's Prayer; whether before or after the actual reception of the Sacrament matters little. In the older liturgies the "Our Father," repeated by all, sums up the petitions and intercessions of the Canon. So St. Cyril of Jerusalem instructs his catechumens in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in 347 or 348: "After these things"— among which he has mentioned the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and the intercessions for all whether living or departed — "we say that Prayer which the Saviour delivered to His own disciples, with a pure conscience styling God

Our Father."[1] Nearly every Church, St. Augustine wrote to Paulinus (A.D. 414), concludes the supplications, prayers, and intercessions which were made while the elements were blessed, hallowed, and broken for distribution, with the Lord's Prayer.[2]

Repeated, as with us, after Communion, the Lord's Prayer has its peculiar significance. As in the administration of Baptism the first words said by or on behalf of the newly initiated member of Christ are the "Our Father," so here immediately after our union with Him, and with one another in Him, has been anew assured and strengthened by our feeding on His sacred Body and Blood, the first words of common prayer uttered by all the congregation are "Our Father."

(*b*) Next may be mentioned the two hymns from Scripture, one of which is common to all liturgies, the other to those of Western Christendom, the *Ter Sanctus* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*.[3]

(1) To us as to St. John (to whom was repeated Isaiah's vision) a door is opened in heaven, that we may share in the worship of the heavenly host gathered round the Lamb standing before the throne

[1] On the Mysteries, v. (*Lib. of the Fathers*, pp. 275, 276.)

[2] Ep. CXLIX, cap. ii. 16.

[3] The author may refer to his lecture on "The Hymns of the Eucharist" in *Lauda Sion*, New York Church Club Lectures, 1896.

as it had been slain, bearing, that is, the marks of a sacrificial death. The verbal thanksgiving accompanying the great act by which we show forth the Lord's victorious passion, compressed into short sentences in our common and proper prefaces, was in the older liturgies expanded at great length, recounting the benefits of creation and redemption; it always reached its climax in the anthem sung by all, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory."

(2) The history of the *Gloria in Excelsis* as we sing it, its gradual expansion from the Angels' song at our Saviour's birth, and its adoption into the liturgy, would be too long and hardly suitable for our present purpose. Here it may suffice to say that the Scriptural sentence, the Angels' song proper, is the only part of the hymn that is found in any Oriental altar service, the remaining portions being incorporated into Western liturgies at a later date; but so well established was its use by the beginning of the tenth century, that it was then frequently "farsed" with interpolations specially appropriate (or considered so) to particular festivals. The Eucharistic use of the hymn points of course to the sacramental application of the benefits of the Incarnation. "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men": That which the an-

gels proclaimed as the object of the incarnation of the Redeemer, we rejoice in as the result of His mission, while we beg for mercy, pardon, and help from the exalted Lamb of God, who by His intercession and His bestowal of grace now taketh away the sins of the world.

(*c*) In the use of Scripture in the Eucharistic service we should note two peculiarities of the Anglican rite; the rehearsal of the Ten Commandments, and the Comfortable Words.

(1) The first might perhaps be regarded by those who are bent on finding a precedent for every feature, as a fixed and constant lesson from the Law; in which case our alternative of the Lord's summary would be singularly out of place. But there is no reason to suppose that this ancient precedent was present to the minds of those who inserted the Decalogue into the introductory part of the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, evidently with the idea of its serving as a helpful penitential preparation. The ninefold *Kyrie* may have suggested the use to which the repeated prayer for mercy might be adapted.[1] About the need of explan-

[1] In 1281 the ninth of Abp. Peckham's Constitutions had ordered that in the Province of Canterbury the Ten Commandments with the Creed and other principles of the Christian Religion should be expounded to the people by every parish priest four

ation to guard against misunderstanding of the Decalogue as read in our churches, I shall have a word to say at another time.

(2) As the rehearsal of the Commandments was intended to help worshippers to a humble confession of their transgressions, so the repetition of the Comfortable Words was designed to encourage the penitent. With this object in Archbishop Herman's *Consultation* (from which they were adopted into the first Prayer Book of Edward VI) they preceded the Absolution, instead of following it, as in the English order and those derived therefrom.[1]

(*d*) Another use of Scripture in our altar service remains for notice, and it suggests a wider use of a somewhat similar character in older service books.

times in the year. Johnson's *English Canons*, ii. p. 283. The same was repeated for the Province of York by Abp. Nevil's Constitutions in 1466. Johnson ii. 520. So only five years before the Commandments were made part of the service it was ordered in the Injunctions of Edward VI, "That every holy-day throughout the year, when they had no sermon, they should immediately after the Gospel openly and plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit the *Paternoster*, *Credo*, and the Ten Commandments in English." See Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, ch. iv. sec. iii.

[1] The "Comfortable Words" (not so styled by him) provided by Archbishop Herman (apparently for alternative use) were John iii. 16, 1 Tim. i. 15, John iii. 35, 36 a, Acts x. 43, 1 John ii. 1, 2. *A Simple and Religious Consultation* of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne (London, 1548), *fol.* ccii.

Our Sentences at the Offertory, with the exception of the last two, which were added at our last revision (1892), are all of the nature of exhortations to due and liberal almsgiving. In this they differ from the older *Offertorium*, which was rather an antiphon with verses sung during the oblation of the elements, for which purpose our last two sentences are fitted. The older *Offertorium* belonged to the proper service of the day or season, like our Epistle and Gospel, and was one of several ways in which the Roman and other Western liturgies interwove verses from Holy Scripture into the Eucharistic service. Of this sort were the *Introit*, sung as the priest approached the altar — a Psalm (shortened later to a single verse of a Psalm) preceded and followed by its antiphon, a sentence of Scripture appropriate to the day; the *Communion*, a Psalm and antiphon corresponding to the *Introit* and sung during the reception; and the *Gradual*, a respond sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. Both the Introit and the Communion, as well as the Offertory sentence, were retained in simpler form in the first English Prayer Book. The desire for still greater simplicity has dropped them from later books. It may be, I suppose, a question of taste whether our common use in the present day of metrical hymns at these points in the service is to be

counted a gain or loss. Popularity perhaps may compensate for the loss of dignity. But in any case the use of Holy Scripture in the Eucharistic service is diminished.

(*e*) Our Anglican rite concludes with one more devotional application of Scripture in the use of St. Paul's words to the Philippians,[1] introduced into the Order of Communion in 1548, before the invocation of blessing on the departing worshippers from the tri-une God. "The peace of God which passeth all understanding keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord." Through and in Him we have drawn near to the Father, whom He makes known, and whose Spirit He breathes upon His disciples. So we depart in peace, in the name of the Lord.

[1] Phil. iv. 7.

LECTURE III

THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE DAILY SERVICE

At first, as we have seen, the Eucharistic service absorbed all the different elements of public worship for the Christian Church. It is a confirmation of this view that we find the first beginning of what grew to be the Choir Office of the Church — represented in our Prayer Book by the Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer — to have sprung up in connection with the Eucharist. It seems possible, following Mgr. Batiffol in his extremely interesting History of the Roman Breviary, to trace pretty clearly the stages of the development of the Choir Office.[1] Doubtless there were local variations; but the general course of development would appear to be represented by the following summary.

[1] *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, par Pierre Batiffol, du clergé de Paris (translated by Baylay). Compare, as in substantial agreement, Duchesne, *Origines du culte Chrétien*, ch. xvi, "L'office divin." A translation of Duchesne's book by M. L. McClure has just been published (1903) by S. P. C. K.

(1) These services began with the vigils which were kept before the celebration of the Eucharist, as a preparation for the solemn service, and as an expression of the common expectation that the Lord would return at midnight. Bishop John Wordsworth points out several interesting liturgical hints of this expectation, to which he refers the Eucharistic use of the *Benedictus qui venit*.[1] The vigils were observed on Saturday night before the Lord's Day Eucharist, and in some parts, where the Eucharist was celebrated also on the Sabbath, on Friday night likewise; also before the Eucharist celebrated at the burial-places of martyrs on their memorial days. Beyond these occasions it would hardly have been possible in times of persecution, and with a large number of Christians employed as slaves, to gather together the faithful for stated worship. There is no trace, Bishop Wordsworth says,[2] of a daily Eucharist outside the earliest days at Jerusalem, until the time of Cyprian. Doubtless there were in private houses informal gatherings of Christians who lived near to one another, for prayer and mutual exhortation.

The vigils were spent in the saying of psalms and the reading of Scripture lessons. The vigil generally began with Vespers (we may be using later terms)

[1] *The Ministry of Grace*, by John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, pp. 312, 313.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 306.

about sunset. Nocturns followed at midnight; Lauds at daybreak. But at Rome there was at first no vesper office belonging to the vigil. Of an earlier use we learn from the canons of Hippolytus, which are supposed to be a Roman synodical document of Pope Victor's time in the last decade of the second century.[1] These mark the distinction between (*a*) the liturgical assembly for the Oblation or Eucharist, at which the bishop officiates, attended by the body of his clergy, and vested; and (*b*) the euchological assembly at cockcrow in church, at which nothing is said of the presence of the bishop nor of vestments. This service, which was not daily, consisted of three exercises, psalmody, the reading of Holy Scripture, and the prayers.

(2) By degrees those who as ascetics and dedicated virgins (living in their own homes) gave themselves specially to prayer and the service of the Lord came to keep a vigil privately every night, and not only on the occasions of its public observance.[2]

[1] *Canones Hippolyti*, xxi. 217, xxxviii. 20. (Achelis, pp. 118, 122.)

[2] For the life of virgins dedicated to Christ, passed at home, and in conventual establishments, see St. Jerome's letters to Læta and to Eustochium, the daughters of Paula. Epp. cvii, cviii. (*Nicene Fathers.*) The latter, besides its history of Paula (Jerome's most famous disciple at Bethlehem) and the account of her burial, is a good illustration of Jerome's knowledge of the Scriptures and of his method of applying them.

(3) As persecution ceased these persons would assemble in a church and perform their devotions in common. Others of the devout laity would join with them. Then the service was put in charge of the clergy. Offices for the hours of the day (which had probably always been marked with some prayer by the more devout) came to be added to these public night offices.[1]

[1] An interesting article on "The early history of Divine Service" will be found in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1896, vol. xli. Concerning the Hours of Prayer the writer says, "The history is the record of progress from what was merely private to what became public, from what was merely optional to what became obligatory, and to some extent also from what was merely occasional to what became continuous." — pp. 397, 398.

Tertullian refers to Terce, Sext, and None, speaking of "those common hours, which mark the intervals of the day, which we may find in the Scriptures to have been more solemn than the rest. The first infusion of the Holy Spirit into the congregated disciples took place at the third hour. Peter, on the day in which he experienced the vision of Universal Community, in that small vessel, had ascended into the higher regions for prayer's sake at the sixth hour. The same apostle was going into the temple, with John, at the ninth hour, when he restored the paralytic to his health. . . . So that, as we read was observed by Daniel also, in accordance with Israel's discipline, we pray at least not less than thrice in the day, debtors as we are to Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; besides of course our regular prayers which are due on the entrance of light and of night." *De Oratione*, xxv. (Ante-Nicene Library, xi. p. 200.) Comp. Canons of Hippolytus, which connect them all with the Passion, xxv. 233–235 (Achelis,

(4) Meanwhile with the nominal conversion of the Empire there came a growing laxity on the part of many Christians; the ascetics and virgins retired from their own homes to serve God in solitude, whether as actual hermits or in monastic communities. The fuller observance of the Hours of Prayer (by night and by day) fell more and more to their special lot. In these communities the offices were elaborated and systematized; while for ordinary Christians they became more occasional, and not till later were they imposed as an obligatory rule on the clergy generally, and then only in a modified form, as regards the substance and order of the offices, and the times of their recitation.

(5) As the Vigil and the Day Hours became the privilege and duty of the monks (who were sometimes put in charge of important churches for the purpose of reciting the full office), a public morning and evening service of prayer became natural for ordinary Christians in the latter part of the fourth century, when persecution had ceased. For morning and evening service we should more properly say evening and morning prayer, the offices being the remnant, so to speak, of the vigil, its beginning and its

pp. 127, 128). In the East likewise Clement of Alexandria refers to the observance of the 3rd, 6th, and 9th hours. *Stromateis*, vii. 40. (Hort and Mayor, p. 71.)

end.[1] These services were led by the secular clergy and became obligatory on them, while recommended for the observance of lay people.

II

The form of Divine Service established in the East at the end of the fourth century, and which passed over into the West, we learn in fragmentary fashion from incidental references in the writings of the Fathers; in fuller description from the Apostolic Constitutions; in a most graphic form from the pilgrimage of Sylvia; and from the Institutes of Cassian.[2] For instance, we learn from Theodoret[3] that at Antioch Bishop Leontius (344–357), being Arian in his sympathies, brought into the churches, apparently with a view to suppressing them, congregations of orthodox believers that had been collected by the ascetics Flavian and Diodorus at the tombs

[1] An interesting trace of the original vigil service is found in the Russian name for the ordinary Sunday service preceding the Liturgy, *παννυχίς*, or all-night service. This consists of Vespers, with Compline, Matins, and Prime, which if sung in full would take literally the whole night. In practice the service is ordinarily curtailed. See Mr. W. J. Birkbeck's Account of the Observance of Sunday in Russia, in the Rev. W. J. Trevelyan's volume on Sunday in the Oxford Library of Practical Theology, pp. 190–192.

[2] Joannis Cassiani *de cœnobiorum institutis.*

[3] H. E. ii. 24. (*Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, iii. p. 85.)

of the martyrs, where they spent the night in singing psalms to God. These were the first, we are told, "to divide choirs into two parts, and to teach them to sing the Psalms of David antiphonally." This usage was established at Cæsarea in Cappadocia by St. Basil (A. D. 370). Amongst other charges against the bishop, his enemies alleged the introduction of psalms and a kind of music varying from the custom which had obtained among them. In his defence addressed to the clergy of Cæsarea Basil speaks of the religious men and women who "continue night and day in prayer." The customs which obtained as to psalmody are agreeable, he says, to those of all the Churches of God. "Among us the people go at night to the house of prayer, and in distress, affliction, and continual tears making confession to God, at last rise from their prayer and begin to sing psalms. And now divided into two parts they sing antiphonally with one another, thus at once strengthening their attention to the Scriptures and procuring for themselves recollected and undistracted hearts." [1]

[1] Ep. ccvii. 3. (*Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, viii. p. 247.) St. Basil's description of the nocturnal service continues thus: "After this [antiphonal singing] they permit one alone to begin the Psalm, and the rest join in the close of every verse, and thus, with this variety of psalmody, they carry on the night, praying betwixt whiles, or intermingling prayers with their

The custom of antiphonal chanting of Psalms was introduced at Milan by St. Ambrose (387), as we learn from the well-known passage in St. Augustine's *Confessions*.[1] A year before Augustine's Baptism Justina, mother to the Emperor Valentinian, persecuted Ambrose in favour of the Arian heresy. The devout people kept watch in the church, ready to die with their bishop. "Then it was first instituted that after the manner of the Eastern Churches hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through heaviness of sorrow; and from that day to this the custom has been retained, many, yea, almost all congregations throughout the rest of the world following the example."

These, Basil, Leontius, and Augustine, witness to the use of the Psalter, but evidently in connection with vigils. Writing from the south of France in 405, and giving an account of his visits to different monasteries, Cassian tells us that different rules and arrangements prevail in different places as to the number of psalms said. Some, he said, have appointed that each night twenty or thirty psalms should be

psalms. At last, when the day begins to break forth, they all in common, as with one mouth and one heart, offer up to God the Psalm of confession [Ps. li], every one making the words of the Psalm to be the expression of his own repentance." See Bingham's *Antiquities*, bk. XIII. x. 13.

[1] *Conf.* IX. vii. (*Library of the Fathers*, pp. 166, 167.)

said. The systems and regulations are almost as many in number as the monasteries visited. He speaks of Terce, Sext, and None, services for nine and twelve and three o'clock in the day. In Palestine and Mesopotamia the monks seem to have assembled together for common prayers at these hours. The Egyptian monks had only two daily public services, in the evening and early morning, marking other hours by private prayer in the midst of work. Their Vespers and Matins each consisted of twelve psalms recited by readers, and of two lessons followed by silent prayer. The lessons, he says, one from the Old and one from the New Testament, had been added later, and only for those who liked and were eager to gain by constant study a mind well stored with Holy Scripture. On Sundays and during Eastertide both lessons were from the New Testament, the first from the Epistles and Acts, the second from the Gospels.[1]

Cassian says that psalms were sometimes broken up into portions of a few verses. "They do not care about the quantity of the verses, but about the intelligence of the mind; aiming with all their might at this, 'I will sing with the spirit: I will sing with the understanding also.'[2] And so they consider

[1] *Institutes*, ii. and iii. 2, 3, 4. (*Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, xi. pp. 207–212.)

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

it better for ten verses to be sung with understanding, than for a whole psalm to be poured forth with a bewildered mind."[1]

One more reference to Cassian. He tells of Matins or Lauds with Psalms cxlix, li, lxiii, xc[2] following Nocturns, in Gaul. This office he says was later put to the time of sunrise, and made to consist of three Psalms, like Terce, Sext, and None. In fact, this distinctly *morning* office became what we know as Prime.

The Apostolic Constitutions, which probably belonged to the same period (about 375), and to Antioch,[3] give a fuller account of the public prayers.[4] The people meet early and say Psalm lxiii ("O God, thou art my God"), and again in the evening, and say Psalm cxli ("Lord, I have called upon thee . . . Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense: and let the lifting up of my hand be an evening sacrifice."[5] Hymns, as well as Psalms, are

[1] *Institutes*, ii. 11.

[2] The English (and Hebrew) numbering of the Psalms is always given; the Greek and Latin is of course different.

[3] Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 45. For a full discussion of the date of the Apostolic Constitutions and their different parts, see the article in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

[4] II. 59 (Lagarde), Ante-Nicene Lib., xvii. p. 87.

[5] See St. Chrysostom's comment on the use of these Psalms (*in Psalm.* cxl), quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* xiii. x. 2, xi. 3.

used in their worship, *i. e.*, probably not only the Gospel Canticles, but compositions outside of Holy Scriptures, like the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *ἰδιωτικοί ὕμνοι*, as they were styled. The bishop is to exhort the people to come constantly to church morning and evening every day, singing psalms and praying in the Lord's house, but principally on the Sabbath day, and on the day of the Lord's Resurrection, when the Eucharist was also celebrated. Here we meet for the first time with set prayers; but no Scripture lessons are mentioned.

Of about the same date (385) is the extremely interesting account of the services in the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem given by a devout Western lady in her account of a visit to the Holy

Of Psalm lxiii he says, "The Fathers of the Church appointed it to be said every morning, as a spiritual song and medicine to blot out our sins; to kindle in us a desire of God; to raise our souls, and inflame them with a mighty fire of devotion; to make us overflow with goodness and love, and send us with such preparation to approach and appear before God." And of Psalm cxli, "Our Fathers did not order this psalm to be said upon the account of the single expression in verse 2, but they appointed the reading of it as a sort of salutary medicine to cleanse us from sin; that whatever defilement we may have contracted throughout the whole day, either abroad, in the market, or at home, or in whatsoever place, when the evening comes, we might put it all off by this spiritual charm or song, which is a medicine to purge away all such corruption." (Montfaucon's *Chrysostom*, t. v. pp. 514, 515.)

Places, under the title of the "Pilgrimage of Silvia," which has been discovered within the last twenty years.[1] Here the solitaries and virgins are described as first assembling for a sort of vigil, and gathering other devout lay persons with them, "who have a mind to keep vigil earlier than others." From that hour (at cockcrow) to daylight hymns are said, and psalms are responded, and antiphons sung, and a prayer is said after each hymn, by two or three of the clergy in turn. Bishop Wordsworth understands *dicuntur* to mean recited by a single voice; *responduntur* to mean that one voice sings half, the people answering with the other half, or interposing ἀκροστίχια or refrains. *Antiphons* stand for psalms sung antiphonally by two choirs, not yet for the verse sung before and after the psalm.[2]

When it begins to grow light the people begin to say the matin hymns. Then, as a later stage of the service, comes in the bishop with the body of the clergy and offers prayer. The same order is observed at Sext and None. Psalms and antiphons go on till notice of the bishop's coming is given:

[1] Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*, p. 57. See Appendix to Duchesne's *Christian Worship*, where the original of the *Peregrinatio* is given, and also an explanation of the different church buildings at Jerusalem. For this compare Bright's *Age of the Fathers*, vol. i. pp. 121, 122.

[2] Wordsworth, p. 348. For modes of musical recitation see note on p. 99, Lect. IV.

he prays for all and blesses each. At the early evening service the lamplighting psalms are said, and antiphons chanted for a considerable time. These are continued after the bishop's entrance.

Wordsworth thus sums up Silvia's description: "This shows that at that period in Jerusalem there were four daily offices, (1) a double Matin office continuously from cockcrow to daylight, (2) Sext, (3) None, and (4) Vespers. No lessons are mentioned; but at the two principal services, which are morning and evening, a commemoration [*i. e.*, intercession] with responses is made. The bishop and the body of the clergy are only present to conclude the service, the congregation consisting of the ascetics and other lay people, led by certain clergy who officiate in turn."

On Sundays the morning service was more elaborate, and more largely attended. Before cockcrow a multitude, as numerous as if it were Easter, (Silvia says,) assembles in front of the Church of the Resurrection. They sit down, waiting for the doors to be opened, and psalms and antiphons are sung, each psalm being followed by a prayer said by a priest or deacon. This apparently is informal. The doors of the basilica are opened at the first cockcrowing. The bishop comes, and the crowd enters. The Sunday vigil, properly so called, is about to begin.

A priest says a psalm, to which the congregation respond; after the psalm a prayer. Then a deacon says a second psalm, followed by a prayer. Then some cleric says a third psalm, followed by a third prayer. Then follow the commemorations, or intercessions, as at Vespers. These being ended, censers are brought in, and the basilica is filled with their perfume. The bishop takes the Gospel book and reads from it the narrative of the Resurrection; after which he blesses the faithful, and the office is over. The bishop retires, and the body of the faithful go home to rest. But the religious remain in the church till daybreak, when all return and the Eucharist is celebrated, saying meanwhile psalms and antiphons, each psalm being followed by a prayer said by some priest or deacon.

In the sixth century we find clearly distinguished the arrangements which we have seen to have gradually parted company, — (1) for the monastic communities, and (2) for churches under the immediate direction of the bishop. "We reject the monastic uses, which it is sought to mingle with those which according to rule obtain in our churches," says a Council of Braga in 561, representing the general attitude of Gaul and Spain, as of the East.[1] By a

[1] Concil. Bracarense, capit. I. Hardouin, vol. iii. p. 350. "I. Placuit omnibus communi consensu, ut unus atque idem

constitution of Justinian[1] (529) the clergy are directed to sing in their churches Vespers, Nocturns, and Lauds, *i. e.*, the Night Office, the laity largely attending these evening and early morning services. No diurnal course was as yet ordinarily performed. The Day Hours were sometimes observed in public churches for penitents and for the specially devout. The Council of Tours (567) describes the secular Vespers as consisting of twelve psalms without antiphons except Alleluia, while at Matins the number of psalms varied from twelve to twenty, with the season of the year, that is, the length of the night.

Meanwhile the monastic order reached its full development in the East at Bethlehem, and in the West in the Benedictine Rule. It will be impossible, nor would it belong strictly to our subject, to follow closely the further development of the Daily Service, nor the gradual supplanting in Western Christendom of what we may call the secular by the monastic office. This, as Mgr. Batiffol seems conclusively to show, was chiefly due to the far-reaching influence of the use at the great basilica of St. Peter

psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur; et non diversae, ac privatae, neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtae. II. Item placuit, ut per solennium dierum vigilias vel missas omnes easdem et non diversas lectiones in ecclesia legant."

[1] Cod. Just. i. 3, 4.

at Rome, where the monastery of Our Saviour was established to sing the Divine Office.

III

In our review of the growth of the service two points have become clear, on each of which we may dwell: (1) The gradual elaboration of the office, (2) That it was almost entirely composed of Scripture. This was a marked and constant feature of the choir office of the Catholic Church. It has been well said, "Given the desire to keep 'hours,' the actual services become naturally some sort of methodical arrangement for singing the psalms and reading the Bible."[1] The different elements of Scripture thus used we will consider in turn.

(*a*) The Psalter formed the staple of the office. As in the Eucharist a great *act* of worship had been ordained by our Lord, so in the Psalter the Church possessed, and set herself to use, a divinely provided manual of *words* of praise and prayer. As a separate lecture will be devoted to the consideration of the Psalter, let it here suffice to point out that so thoroughly were the Psalms the chief element of the service of the Hours that "the Psalter" came to be the name of the book which contained the office.

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, xli. p. 403.

Round the Psalms were gathered antiphons, lections, responds, and versicles.

(*b*) Even Collects — the best (may we not say?) of extra-scriptural devotions — did not find a place in the office for some time. St. Benedict was unaware of any other custom than the ancient one of saying the *Paternoster* at the end of the psalmody.[1] The Lord's Prayer of old ended the office, the faithful gathering up in our Lord's own words the prayers and praises offered in the words of those who had gone before Him. It is a loss that in the existing Roman Breviary the Lord's Prayer holds so inconspicuous a place, on most occasions only being said, and that *secreto*, as a preparation for the office,[2] save at Matins, where it is said in each Nocturn before the lessons. The omission of the "Lord have mercy upon us" and the "Our Father" from their traditional place, which they retain in the English Prayer Book, after the Psalms, Lessons, Canticles, and Creed, is a distinct blot on our Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. We too in the daily office only say the Lord's Prayer as an introduction to our worship,

[1] See Bingham, *Antiq.* XIII. xi. 7. Nobis semper placuit observari, ut omnibus diebus post matutinas et vespertinas oratio Dominica a sacerdote proferatur. Co. Geronde (Spain). So for Gaul the Council of Orleans.

[2] Leaving out of account the numerous festivals (see p. 87), the *preces* are not said on ordinary ferias, but only on fast days.

instead of summing up in it the thoughts of Psalms and Scripture readings.

(*c*) Still keeping to the prayers of the office, the Versicles which were embodied in the *preces*, like those which according to ancient usage precede the collect in our Evening Prayer (and in greatly abbreviated form in Morning Prayer), were mostly taken from Holy Scripture, as are ours entirely.[1]

(*d*) Of somewhat similar character were the Antiphons (in the later liturgical use of the term, not Silvia's) or short sentences, almost always in early times taken from Scripture, which were interwoven with the psalms, marking often the special sense in which a psalm was to be said on this or that occasion.[2] Any who are familiar with the Advent offices in The Day Hours of the Church of England will recognise the extreme beauty and helpfulness of this devotional use of Scripture, and specially of the words of the Prophets applied to mysteries of the Christian Faith. The revised Paris Breviary (a com-

[1] See Appendix B.

[2] Batiffol points to the connection between the older and the later use of the term. The word originally stood for a mode of chanting — in alternate fashion. Then it was used of a short sentence intercalated after every verse or pair of verses of a psalm. This practice was gradually dropped until the sentence was repeated only at the beginning and end of the psalm (pp. 94–96).

position of the eighteenth century) was specially rich in its Scripture antiphons. It is needless to say that Scripture might thus be used in a fanciful way, and that critical study of the Bible would disallow the fitness of some of the applications made. But, whatever pruning was necessary, and however great the necessity of simplicity for a book of Common Prayer, there can be little doubt that we have lost much of light and shade, and of bringing together of different parts of Scripture, in the total elimination of the whole system of antiphons. It is a question worth considering whether (apart from the blot of monotony) the attempt at uniformity by reducing all to what may be called a minimum of liturgical decency, has not resulted in the singular diversity of use with which we are now confronted in different churches by the introduction of all sorts of unauthorized variations. The legitimate provision — as an Appendix (if this be thought best) to the Prayer Book — of authorized enrichments, for instance in the way of antiphons, as of similar Scripture anthems for the Eucharist,[1] for use on greater occasions and in larger churches, might be one remedy for the state of liturgical chaos into which it sometimes seems as if we were drifting.

[1] See Lect. II., p. 56.

It may be interesting to point to some traces of the old usage which survive in our Prayer Book. In the Litany, after the opening invocation of the several Persons of the triune God, is the petition, "Remember not, Lord, our offences," etc. This is an antiphon (founded on Tobit iii. 3, Baruch iii. 5, Joel ii. 17) which was repeated with the Seven Penitential Psalms which in the old office books preceded the Litany.[1] In the latter part of the Litany the verse "O Lord, arise, help us," etc., is an antiphon said before and after the verse "O God, we have heard with our ears," etc., both being taken from Psalm xliv. With the suffrages that follow they were incorporated into the English Litany from a special Supplication for time of war. In the Visitation of the Sick, the short prayer "O Saviour of the world," following the Psalm (cxxx in our book, lxxi in the English), is evidently of the nature of an antiphon. It may be added that the sentence in our Burial Service, "I heard a voice from Heaven," was sung as an antiphon before and after the *Magnificat* in Vespers of the Departed. The opening sentences of our burial office may perhaps be re-

[1] This explains the position of the sentence at the opening of the Order for the Visitation of the Sick. Of old the Order began with the recitation of the penitential psalms, with this antiphon, on the way to the house.

garded as serving the same purpose for the Psalms which follow. Indeed to a certain extent the sentences of Scripture at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer serve the purpose of the antiphons in the older services, giving, if rightly chosen (which is often not the case), a key-note for the service. Our newer sentences (added in 1892) specially appropriate for greater days or seasons, like those for Thanksgiving Day, serve in some degree to correct the fault of which Dr. Neale justly complained in the English Prayer Book, of the absolute sameness of the office for Christmas Day or for Good Friday down to the Psalms.[1] The choice of antiphons to be sung before and after Psalms and Canticles, on several recent occasions at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, may well illustrate the use of such sentences to give the colour or tone of the day to constantly repeated psalms, thus helping to bring out some of their richness of meaning and variety of application.[2]

(*e*) Much the same might be said of the Responds, which in the Breviary followed the lections. These generally consisted of sentences of Scripture repeated and dovetailed into one another.[3]

[1] J. M. Neale, *Essays in Liturgiology*, p. 7.

[2] See Appendix C.

[3] The original meaning of the term was not that of a response to the Scripture reading, but it referred to the sentence of

(*f*) What we may call the jealousy for Scripture shown in the Choir Office, the sparing way in which other than Scriptural elements were admitted, is illustrated by the late introduction of what we call hymns. At first any compositions not found in Scripture were regarded with suspicion, partly no doubt from a sense of the unique character and dignity of the canonical books; partly also because heretics seem to have sought from early times to popularize their false teaching by means of poetical compositions and hymns.

It was only gradually that such compositions as the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Te Deum*, and, perhaps earliest of all, the φῶς ἱλαρον[1] (Hail, gladdening Light), were admitted to the Church's office.[2] Metri-

Scripture, after it had been sung as a solo, being repeated (responded) by the congregation. In this it resembled the Gradual at Mass. Batiffol, p. 104. (The references are to Baylay's translation.)

[1] Hymnus Vespertinus Græcorum, vel sæculo secundo, vel certe hoc tertio compositus. Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. iii. p. 299, and *Lyra Apostolica*, lxiii, where both the original and Newman's translation are given. There is also a translation in our Hymnal, No. 6.

[2] See the decree of the 4th Council of Toledo (633), quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* xiii. xi. 6, with its reference to the *Gloria Patri*, and the *Gloria in excelsis*. The former doxology it speaks of as "illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula

cal hymns were of distinctly later introduction, and were for a considerable time a matter of no little controversy. It is remarkable that metrical hymns were generally cherished in the monasteries, while they were viewed with suspicion by the secular clergy.[1] This may serve to indicate the fact that already (in the sixth and seventh centuries) the Hours had ceased to be a popular devotion. The hymns perhaps helped to brighten the longer offices for the religious, while the mass of the secular clergy naturally resented any addition to the office, the recitation of which had now become obligatory on them, and the more learned ecclesiastics may have disliked the intrusion into the stately office of less dignified elements.

Going back to the older use of the word "hymn," the constant use of the Gospel Canticles — Zacharias' Song, and the Blessed Virgin's and Simeon's — must not be lost sight of. Nor will it be amiss to quote once more Hooker's masterly defence of this practice of the Church in reply to the uninstructed Puritan prejudice which in his day — and later — would have cast aside these treasures of Christian song. The

sæculorum, Amen." This is the Mozarabic form of the doxology. Substituting 'tibi' for 'et honor' this doxology is found in the Canons of Hippolytus, iii. 29. (Achelis, p. 56.) For the various forms which both verses have taken, see Frere, *Hist. of Bk. of Com. Pr.*, pp. 317, 318.

[1] Batiffol, p. 185.

Puritans objected also to the constant recitation of the Psalter. After having given reasons for the conveniency and use of reading the Psalms oftener than the other Scriptures, Hooker continues: "Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* oftener than the rest of the Psalms, the causes are no whit less reasonable, so that if the one may very well monthly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are songs which concern us so much more than the songs of David as the Gospel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Testament than the Old. And if the Psalms for the excellency of their use deserve to be oftener repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftener repetition; what disorder is it if these few Evangelical Hymns which are in no respect less worthy, and may by reason of their paucity be imprinted with much more ease in all men's memories, be for that cause every day rehearsed?" "These canticles," he further urges, "are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the world by such as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels embraced him; being prophetical discoveries of Christ already present, whose future coming the other Psalms did but foresignify, they are against the obstinate credulity of the Jews the most luculent

testimonies that the Christian religion hath; yea, the only sacred hymns they are that Christianity hath peculiar unto itself, the other being songs too of praise and thanksgiving, but songs wherewith as we serve God, so the Jew likewise."[1]

The mention of the songs of the older Church may suggest a plea for the restoration to our service book of the Old Testament Canticles, which find a place in the breviaries, sometimes (as in the Roman and Sarum) being said one on each day of the week at Lauds, sometimes (as in the Benedictine) being grouped together in the third Nocturn at Matins.[2] To the *Benedicite*, the Song of Isaiah (ch. xii), of Hannah (1 Sam. ii), of Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii), of Habakkuk (ch. iii), the two Songs of Moses (in Ex. xv and in Deut. xxxii), there might be added, as in the Ambrosian Breviary, Isa. xxvi,[3] and the Prayer of Jonah;[4] the last would not be inappropriate for use at a burial. Some of the others might well be allowed as alternatives to the *Te Deum*, for which purpose *Benedicite* does not strike most people as

[1] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. xl. 1, 2. Concerning the special significance of each of the Gospel Canticles in the place it occupies at Morning or Evening Prayer, the author ventures to refer to his little *Companion to the Prayer Book*, pp. 54–62.

[2] See Appendix D.

[3] In Sunday Matins.

[4] On Holy Saturday at Matins.

particularly well fitted in Lent. The earlier, and perhaps the later, verses of the Song of the Three Children (29–34 and 66–68) would make a short canticle of festal character, in some respects preferable to the part of the Song with which we are more familiar.[1]

(*g*) The Lections of the Breviary again illustrate the pre-eminent regard for Holy Scripture which has always characterized the worship, as well as the doctrine, of the Church. Lessons from other sources than Holy Scripture we know to have been read in church by the time of St. Gregory the Great (600), for he urged in an epistle that a Commentary on the Psalms (probably having in mind St. Augustine's or perhaps that of St. Ambrose) would be better for this purpose than his Morals on Job, — a judgment in which those who have tried to read the latter book, or to follow it when read, would probably concur. "It has been reported to me," he writes to the subdeacon at Ravenna, "that our very reverend brother and fellow-bishop Marinianus uses our com-

[1] In the Ambrosian Breviary of S. Carlo Borromeo (1582), verses 29–34 are used as an introduction to the psalter instead of the *Venite*. Compare the hymn in the Mozarabic Missal for the First Sunday in Lent, and in the *Missa omnium offerentium*. Missale Mixtum dictum Mozarabes (Leslie's ed.) pp. 93, 22. The Ambrosian Breviary has only Old Testament Canticles at Sunday Matins, one for each Nocturn.

mentary on Job for reading at the vigils. I am not pleased at this, for that work is not composed for the people. . . . Tell him to substitute for it a commentary on the Psalms, as that is more suited for the instruction of the minds of the laity in right conduct."[1]

In the eighth century the Roman Church (by which is meant the Church at Rome), allowed the writings of no authors to be read but such as may be called the classics of the Catholic Church.[2] Later, other writers of less authority were admitted, and by degrees a good many untrustworthy legends. But, whatever revision and excision became necessary (and the need was generally acknowledged), it should be remembered that Holy Scripture always supplied far the larger part of the breviary lessons. Homilies (mostly on the Gospel or other Scripture for the day), and extracts from the Martyrologies read on Saints' days,[3] were always subordinate to the Scripture lessons, and practically served in an age of less frequent preaching the purpose of the sermon which commonly accompanies our service, though

[1] Ep. xii. 24. Gregory adds that so long as he lives he does not wish words of his own to be thus publicly used.

[2] Batiffol, pp. 179, 108, S. Benedicti Regula, 9.

[3] St. Augustine refers to the reading of the passion of the martyrs. Serm. cclxxiii. 2, and cccxv. 1.

perhaps our sermons less often take the form of an exposition of what has been read from Holy Scripture.

Reasonable as may be the complaint of the Preface to the English Prayer Book (taken from Cardinal Quignon's Reformed Breviary) as to the want of consecutive reading of Scripture and its constant interruption, it must not be thought that no attempt was made (and on thoroughly good lines) to provide for the systematic reading of Scripture in the mediæval breviaries. In all books of the Roman type, however much individual lessons may vary, certain books are appointed to be read at certain seasons: Isaiah in Advent, St. Paul's Epistles in Epiphany, Genesis and the Pentateuch in Septuagesima and Lent, Jeremiah in Passiontide, Acts and the General Epistles in the Easter season, the Historical, Moral, and Prophetical books of the Old Testament after Trinity. Doubtless there is a gain in consecutive and continuous reading of the Scriptures, though it must be doubtful how much ordinary congregations derive of instruction or edification from the reading through of some books, *e.g.*, Jeremiah, where, apart from the obscurity of many references, the arrangement of the chapters seems to be in almost hopeless disorder. On the other hand, we are certainly poorer for the loss of the dramatic representation of the great truths of our Creed that was accomplished by choosing and

piecing together Scriptures appropriate to the different seasons of the Christian Year. The Advent and Passiontide offices in the Breviary abundantly illustrate this feature of the older use.

The point which would probably at once strike any one on examining a Breviary (of whatever type) would be that the Lessons were all confined to the Night Office (Matins), only a verse being read (as a chapter) at any of the Day Hours. This doubtless is due to the fact that the vigil office was (as we have seen) the earliest and at first the only part of the service of the Hours. (The Office of the Dead has always conformed to this original order, having only Vespers, Matins, and Lauds, with none of the lesser Hours.) In later times the arrangement of course meant that save at Mass the Scriptures were not read to the people generally. They did not attend the Night Office (even when it was said by anticipation); and the Lessons (which, being read in Latin, not many of the laity would have understood) became the peculiar property of the clergy and the religious.

IV

The English Reformers set themselves in this as in other respects to compile (almost entirely from existing materials) what should really be an order of Common Prayer. With this object in view (1) they

insisted on the use of the vernacular; and (2) they adopted for a norm what alone was practicable for the mass of Christian people, a daily morning and evening service. In practice the seven (or eight) offices had come to be said both by the secular clergy and largely by religious (out of choir at any rate) by accumulation in two batches morning and evening, and it was better to face the fact that the more elaborate arrangement, however beautiful in idea, was impracticable.

(3) Beside the removal of excrescences, the service was simplified, the simplification amounting, as has been hinted, in some respects to actual impoverishment.

(4) All lessons except those from the canonical or deutero-canonical books of Holy Scripture were removed. And these were read at greater length and in more regular order.

(5) The number of feast days, for which the service of the season was interrupted, was very greatly diminished. The multiplication of festivals had been one great cause of the practical setting aside of the regular office, against which those who had the interests of true religion at heart had constantly protested.[1] The full office, however, had become so

[1] When the commemoration of Saints was transferred from the cemeteries to the churches, the office did not at first displace

burdensome, while additional obligations, like the Office for the Dead or the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, were pitilessly crowded on, that it is hardly a matter for wonder that the shorter office of festivals was snatched at as a relief. The curious arrangement (as it must strike the uninitiated) of a shorter service being provided for Holy-days, and then of the benefit of the shorter service being eagerly claimed, is an illustration of the way in which, when virtuous practices are imposed as obligatory duties, exemption is apt to be sought as from a task from what should be regarded as a privilege. In this way, by the substitution for the office of the season of the short office of festivals (at which, *e. g.*, in Matins only nine psalms were said instead of eighteen on Sundays and twelve on week days), it came about, as the preface to the English Prayer Book complains, that a few psalms only were daily said, and the rest utterly omitted; while the continuous reading of the other parts of Scripture was in practice hardly attempted.

These inconveniences and corruptions were largely recognized within the Roman Catholic Church, as is shown by the number of attempts made for a revision of the Breviary, leading up to the reformed Brevi-

the office of the day or season, but was used as an appendix or supplement thereto. Batiffol, p. 135.

ary of Cardinal Quignon, prepared at the direction of Pope Clement VII, and approved by him and his successor, Paul III (1535).[1] Cardinal Quignon's work undoubtedly largely influenced the English revisers, and serves as a connecting link between our Prayer Book and the Latin Breviary.[2]

An apology may be due for the length of this lecture, and for the excursion into the domain of liturgiology. It seemed impossible to treat the subject fairly without some account of the various stages in the growth of the Daily Office, which is so very largely made up of Holy Scripture. To the Psalter itself we shall confine ourselves in the next lecture, and in that which follows we shall consider more particularly some questions raised in our own time with reference to the devotional use of the Old Testament in general.

[1] *Breviarium Romanum Quignonianum*, reprinted by J. Wickham Legg, at the Cambridge University Press, 1888. Quignon's Breviary was abolished by Pius V in 1568, the Franciscan, or modern Roman, use being restored.

[2] "The Cardinal's Breviary was drawn up on principles far more agreeable to those on which the Reformation was conducted, and apparently with the same mixture of right and wrong in the execution. With a desire of promoting the knowledge of Scripture, it showed somewhat of a rude dealing with received usages, and but a deficient sense of what is improperly called the *imaginative* part of religion."—No. 75 of Tracts for the Times, p. 13.

This lecture we may well conclude, as so happily ends the daily service in our Prayer Book, with the Apostle's Benediction,[1] in which we pray that the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ (which includes both His favour and His help), and the love of God our heavenly Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, may accompany us from our worship in the sanctuary to the cares and toils, the trials and pleasures, of our daily life and work.

[1] 2 Cor. xiii. 14. The "Grace" was added as a conclusion to the service in 1559. In the Paris Breviary it is said *submissâ voce* at the end of Compline, at the close of the whole office for the day.

LECTURE IV

THE USE OF THE PSALTER

The Psalter is to be regarded as a manual of devotion provided by God for our use. While the other books of Holy Scripture for the most part contain, in varying forms, God's word to us, the Psalms are addressed to Him. As Dr. Kirkpatrick puts it, with reference to the Old Testament, "The Psalms are the inspired response of the human heart to God's revelation of Himself, in Law and History and Prophecy and Philosophy."[1] On the exceeding value of the Psalter one may quote Bishop Perowne:[2]

"No single book of Scripture, not even the New Testament, has perhaps ever taken such hold on the *heart* of Christendom. None, if we may dare judge, unless it be the Gospels, has had so large an influence in moulding the affections, sustaining the hopes, purifying the faith of believers. With its words, rather than with their own, they have come before

[1] Kirkpatrick, *The Psalms*, p. x.
[2] *Psalms*, vol. i. ch. ii.

God. In these they have uttered their desires, their fears, their confessions, their aspirations, their sorrows, their joys, their thanksgivings. By these their devotion has been kindled and their hearts comforted. The Psalter has been, in the truest sense, the Prayer Book both of Jews and Christians."

The use of the Psalter in public worship we have seen to have been an inheritance of the Christian Church from the Jewish, certainly from the second Temple, most likely from the first.[1] We have seen too how the Psalter came to form the staple of the choir office (as distinct from the altar liturgy) of the Catholic Church, in both Eastern and Western Christendom.[2]

The thoughts which I would suggest about the Psalter may be collected conveniently round four leading questions. Two are connected with its use: (1) the external method of its recitation, and (2) the internal sense or meaning with which we should repeat the Psalms. The other questions concern (3) the composition of the Psalter, the authorship and dates of its various parts, and (4) the difficulties which some of its contents, like the imprecatory or denunciatory psalms, present to a Christian mind.

[1] Lect. I. pp. 1–8. [2] Lect. III.

I

We consider first the rival methods of using the Psalter, by *recitation in course*, or by the *selection* of Psalms appropriate to the particular occasion or season. Selection seems to have been the earlier, as it is the more natural and reasonable, method; the more mechanical recitation in course coming later, with the thought of the repetition of the whole Psalter within a longer or a shorter period as a fitting act of worship.

The gradual development of the Western Breviary offices (of which the Psalter formed the principal portion) we have already in some measure traced.[1] Here the two methods seem to have existed side by side, as to a certain extent they are combined in our Prayer Book. "The Day Hours of the Church of England," which are familiar to many — a translation of the Sarum Hours, omitting the night office or Matins — give an example of the way in which saying in course was ordinarily combined in the mediæval breviaries with the use of specially selected psalms. Fixed psalms were mostly assigned to Lauds and Prime, to Terce, Sext, None, and Compline; while in the ferial office at Matins Psalms i–cix, and at Vespers Psalms cx to the end, were said once a

[1] Lect. III.

week in course, omitting the psalms assigned to the other services.[1] In the Eastern Church the Psalter is divided into twenty sections or cathismata, each of which is divided into three shorter divisions called staseis. The whole is recited once a week ordinarily, and twice a week in Lent, but the details vary according to the time of the year.[2] Our own Prayer Book combines (as has been said) the reading in course according to the day of the month with the appointment of Proper Psalms for a good many days (sixteen in all), and with the provision of twenty Selections of Psalms, for use in place of the psalms for the day, at the discretion of the minister. On each of these elements of our use I desire to say a few words.

(*a*) The practice of reading in course has the advantage of making people (to a certain and perhaps very limited extent) familiar with the whole

[1] For other Western uses, see Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, p. ci. Many of the reformed Gallican Breviaries, while providing for the recitation of the whole Psalter in a week, selected Psalms for the different days and hours. See the arrangement of the Paris Breviary given in Dr. Neale's *Essays on Liturgiology*, pp. 12, 13, where a theme is taken for the psalms of each feria.

[2] Ἑβδομαδαρία (Venice, 1817), vol. i. p. 69. The *Prayer Book Interleaved* gives a helpful summary of the Eastern use (p. 239), as well as of various Western uses (pp. 227–237). See also *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. art. "Psalmody."

Psalter, and also of providing constantly for different moods and needs; but this gain seems to be dearly purchased at the cost of the promiscuous and somewhat unintelligent reading in order. According to the arrangement of the Prayer Book all four psalms which are recognised as specially appropriate for a late evening service, and which formed the psalms for Compline (our Second Selection) are read at Morning Prayer. The contrast of tone and the incongruous blending of psalms must often have struck one painfully in the service. The juxtaposition on the 20th morning of Psalms cii and ciii may be helpful, "the prayer for the afflicted when he fainteth and poureth out his complaint before Jehovah," and the glad thanksgiving — sorrow being turned into joy, the one leading up to the other; but there are other groupings in our artificial and mechanical division into sixty portions, where the change of tone is too violent to be followed without more effort than can be expected in an ordinary congregation. For instance, the combination on the 1st evening of Psalm vi (the first of the Seven Penitential Psalms) with viii ("O Lord our Governor, how excellent is Thy name"); the severing on the 9th day of Psalm xlvi ("God is our hope and strength") from xlvii ("O clap your hands together") and xlviii ("Great is the Lord"), which

really formed one group with it,[1] while xlix ("O hear ye this, all ye people"), which is joined with these two, has no inner connection with them.

Psalms li, lii, liii (which may well be understood as prayers against the Flesh, the Devil, and the World) would go together better than l, li, and lii. Psalm lxxxviii (the one unrelieved complaint throughout the Psalter) is a pitiful anti-climax, following lxxxvi ("Bow down thine ear") and lxxxvii ("Her foundations") on the 17th morning. Psalms cviii ("O God, my heart is ready") and cix (the most fierce of the imprecatory psalms) are not well yoked together on the 22nd evening. Psalm cxiii might easily be placed with the two that follow rather than with the three that precede on the 23rd day, and so we should avoid severing the first of the great Hallel Psalms from those to which it forms an introduction. It would be better to join Psalms cxxxv and cxxxvi on the 28th day, than to have the plaintive cxxxvii ("By the waters of Babylon") wedged in between cxxxvi ("for His mercy endureth forever") and cxxxviii ("I will give thanks with my whole heart").

(*b*) We may well be thankful for the provision in our present Prayer Book of Proper Psalms for many

[1] The three psalms are said together at Morning Prayer on the Epiphany.

additional days beyond those in the English Prayer Book and our own till 1892. The choice of these, as of the earlier Proper Psalms, may be regarded as excellent, and well worthy of careful study. A somewhat vehement attack has indeed been recently made on the choice of Proper Psalms for the great days of the Christian Year.[1] But the simple answer to Dr. Cheyne's superficial criticism (as I venture to call it) is this, that the appropriateness of the Psalms is found not in special texts (which may not bear the weight that has sometimes been laid upon them), but in the general meaning of the whole Psalm, rising up in Christ and Christian mysteries to a higher fulfilment than the original reference could afford. For instance (to limit oneself here to the Psalms appointed for Christmas Day, while giving consideration to all in a Note[2]) Psalm xix (whether or not composed of two originally distinct poems) tells of the revelation of God in nature and in conscience; this is perfected in the incarnation of His Word. Psalms xlv (whatever may be the correct translation or the real meaning of verse 7) sings of the ideal Messianic king. Psalm lxxxv tells of the gracious return of God to His

[1] *The Christian use of the Psalms, with Essays on the Proper Psalms of the Anglican Prayer Book*, by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne.

[2] Appendix E.

penitent people. So (in the evening) Psalm lxxxix tells of God's promises to David, fulfilled notwithstanding seeming failure. Psalm cxxxii rejoices in the sure promise to David. Psalm cx (apart from any controversy as to its authorship or immediate reference) sings of the Messianic King and Priest, whose description is adequately realized by the Captain of our salvation, espousing our cause, and going forth against our enemies, conquering and to conquer.

(*c*) One may plead for a wider use of the Selections of Psalms provided in the Prayer Book. Besides (1) avoiding difficult Psalms (which with many a congregation might cause more questioning than edification), or incongruous Psalms (as when the Hallelujah Psalms come in ordinary course for Holy Week), we can thus (2) choose a Selection suitable for any special occasion. It will be found (as I hope to show in a Note[1]) that the Selections are exceedingly well chosen for this purpose. There are Selections appropriate for festivals of Apostles, or for any Saint's day, for Christmastide and Eastertide, for penitential seasons, for the Dedication Festival of a church, for services in connection with missionary work, for special intercession or thanksgiving. (3) Moreover we might by the use of a selection for several Sundays in succession make our congrega-

[1] Appendix F.

tions familiar with different groups of Psalms, so that they would come to know the words, and understand something of their meaning, and be taught perchance to join in singing, instead of merely reading in unmusical fashion, these ancient hymns of the Church.[1]

II

From the external method of reciting the Psalms we turn to the far more important question as to the internal meaning — the intention (so to speak) with which we should say them. The general line that I should take has already been indicated in the first lecture.

On the one hand, we shall not be content to regard the Psalms merely as Hebrew poems belonging

[1] The name given to an individual psalm, found in the title of fifty-seven psalms, *mizmor*, by its derivation signifies that which is to be sung to a musical accompaniment. *Hastings' Dictionary*, vol. iv, p. 145 B.

On the different musical modes of reciting the Psalter, see Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, p. cii, and Frere, *History of the Prayer Book*, p. 345.

(1) *Cantus directaneus*, the Psalm was sung throughout by the choir or congregation.

(2) *Cantus tractus*, the Psalm was sung by a single voice, generally in elaborate fashion.

(3) *Cantus responsorius*, the precentor and the choir or congregation took parts alternately.

(4) *Cantus antiphonalis*, by the two sides of the choir or congregation alternately.

to a bygone day (though inspired for that time), into which we have, as far as may be, to cast ourselves back in imagination when we read its songs. This stretch of historical imagination can hardly be looked for in simple folk, who delight in the Psalms; its constant exercise would be largely disastrous to devotion in the learned. On the other hand, we shall feel it a strained and exaggerated position to disregard all marks (including limitations) that belong to their human authorship, and view the Psalms as directly intended, by the Spirit who uttered them through human lips, for the use of Christ, and along with Him, of His Church. So regarded, the Psalms are to be thought of as primarily the expressions of our Lord's mind and heart, to which we are to seek to rise up as members of His mystical body, endued with His Spirit. In this view, difficulties such as are suggested by the imprecatory or comminatory psalms are waived aside as irrelevant, since what might be improper or sinful as a human utterance is right and natural on the lips of the incarnate Son of God, the divine Judge. This would seem in principle to amount almost to a denial (unintentional, of course,) of the reality of the Incarnation, as if God could speak through human lips what it would be wrong for man to say. And it seems perilously like the heathen custom of attributing

to deities actions which would be immoral in men and women, — immoralities which then came to be thought of as excusable on earth since they were practised in heaven.

Surely between these extreme views there is an intermediate position, at once reasonable and reverent (reverent because reasonable), which recognizes the Psalter like other books of the Bible (and in particular of the Old Testament) as, while the utterance of men specially under the influence of the Spirit of God, yet bearing traces not only of individual authorship, but also of the age of the world and the stage of divine revelation to which the author belonged.

The Psalms we feel have a real historical origin and setting, which must not for their true understanding be ignored. They are the outpourings of human hearts in varied experiences, personal and national, of joy and sorrow. These outpourings (though inspired by the Spirit of God) have inevitable limitations belonging to their age and circumstances, which must be honestly recognized. The wonder is that these limitations are so little prominent, that the singers of Israel so largely transcend what we should have thought their natural bounds. "Every true poet's words contain far more than he himself at the moment intends. And the words of these

inspired poets were so shaped and moulded by the Holy Spirit that they might grow and expand with the growth of revelation." [1]

The prayers and praises of these inspired men, preserved by God's controlling Providence, represent and express the desires and movements of the human heart, and so find their full realization in the Son of man, the incarnate Son of God. In Him all that really belongs to man is perfectly fulfilled, while the imperfections of the sons of men are left on one side by the pattern Man, on whom the Spirit of God is poured forth without measure, in whom all is in perfect harmony and correspondence with the divine will and purpose. As God's revelation of Himself finds its climax in the life of His incarnate Son, so the outreaching of man after God finds its highest expression in Christ, the perfect and ideal Man.[2]

[1] Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, p. xii.

[2] An interesting and striking illustration of this thought of the Psalms being said by and with our Lord is the appointment in the Roman and Sarum Breviaries, as one of the proper psalms for Vespers throughout Christmastide, of Ps. cxxx, *De profundis*, which we associate with the idea of humiliation in the Office of the Dead, and as one of the Seven Penitential Psalms. The incarnate Son has placed Himself in our midst, to share our experiences and bear our burdens. "Out of the deep" of our misery He calls to His Father.

This idea St. Augustine continually repeats in his Homilies on the Psalms. "Ille orat pro nobis, ut sacerdos noster, orat in nobis, ut caput nostrum, oratur a nobis, ut Deus noster.

With this clue we see how for us the meaning of the Psalms is widened and spiritualized. Temporal "salvation," for the individual or the nation, is the primary petition of many psalms, like iii, xiii, xx and xxi. But these petitions are easily and naturally understood in a deeper sense of moral and spiritual rescue. To substitute "life" for "soul," as in the Revised Version of the New Testament, would often be a help to the meaning of a psalm, just because of the ambiguity and wideness of the former term, which may be used of physical and temporal or of spiritual and eternal life. The redemption wrought for and the covenant made with Israel rise to a higher conception and a fuller meaning, when applied to the Christian Church, the true people of God. So we daily sing our *Benedictus*,[1] which might be said to mark the transition from the lower and national to the higher and spiritual sense of God's redemption of His people. Psalms concerning the building of Jerusalem, and exulting in the beauty and glory of the city of God, find a higher application in the *Civitas Dei*, the representation of the kingdom of heaven set up on earth, while they look forward to

Oramus ad illum, per illum, in illo; et dicimus cum illo, et dicit nobiscum; dicimus in illo; dicit in nobis psalmi hujus orationem." Enarr. in Ps. lxxxv.

[1] Luke i. 68–79.

their perfect realization in the heavenly city, where throughout its length and breadth, built up of living stones, the tabernacle of God is with men and He shall dwell among them.[1] Herein, of course, lies the answer to the Puritan objection represented in our old (ten) Selections of Psalms, which seem to have been designed not only to avoid imprecations, but also definitely personal references, or local and regal allusions.[2]

We will seek, then, to say our Psalms in union with our Lord Jesus Christ, as the leader of His Church's worship to the Father — in word in the Psalter as in act in the Eucharist. He (we may say) precents our Psalms, and by the gift of His Spirit enables us to enter into their true meaning ; as at the altar He, the real priest, bids us join in the triumphant presentation of His victorious oblation by offering ourselves, our souls and bodies, along with Him, a living sacrifice unto the Father.[3]

[1] Rev. xxi. 22, 3.

[2] Verse 9 was omitted from Ps. lxxxiv in Selection viii.

[3] Rom. xii. 1, St. Augustine continually urges this view of the Eucharist. "Cujus rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit ecclesiae sacrificium, quae cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum discit offerre." *De Civitate Dei*, x. 20. It is interesting to see this pressed by Père Le Brun in his *Explication de la Messe*, Art. I.

III

When we have grasped this true sense in which the Psalms should be said, we are prepared to face critical questions as to the composition of the book, the authorship and dates of its various parts.[1] We shall face the questions which are raised on these points frankly and calmly, not greatly disturbed if some traditional opinions are upset, because assured that on these the moral and spiritual value and helpfulness of the Psalter in no way depends. On the other hand we shall welcome any light that investigation and criticism can throw on the original circumstances amid which different psalms were composed (or edited), convinced that with this knowledge we shall be enabled to enter more intelligently into their meaning, to sing with more understanding while with no less spirit. We shall see more clearly *how* the prayers and praises of the ancient Church were fitted and prepared for the use of our Lord Jesus Christ and of His disciples to the end of time. Let us look at an illustration or two on each side of this position.

(*a*) How little depends for practical purposes (that is, for our devotional use of the Psalms) on their

[1] For a useful historical sketch of Psalm Criticism see James Robertson, *The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms*, ch. ii.

precise date or authorship, *e. g.*, whether such a Psalm as xvii ("Hear the right, O Lord, and consider my complaint") be a prayer of David persecuted by Saul or of Israel in exile! In either case it is the complaint of God's faithful servant, oppressed by merciless foes, calling for the intervention of God to uphold the right. Thus it is suited to be the prayer of His perfectly righteous Servant amid the sorrows of His earthly life, or of His Church and faithful people in all similar circumstances of trial. Take another instance. Do Psalms lxxiv and lxxix refer to the desolation wrought by the Chaldeans in 586, or to that wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes in 169? For spiritual purposes a cry for help called forth in the time of the Maccabees will be as helpful to us begging for deliverance from the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, as a cry of David when persecuted by Saul, or of Israel groaning under Chaldee conquest.[1] Once again. For the outpouring of penitence it would make little real difference if we should have to give up the naturally helpful thought of Psalm li as being David's prayer for pardon and cleansing after his great sin, and regard it rather as an expression of national penitence for sins of idolatry, belonging to the time of

[1] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 360.

the Exile.[1] To regard the Psalms more generally (by no means exclusively) as the voice of the community, rather than the cry of an individual, may make them more appropriate for congregational use. It has been well said on the other side, that "in contending for an individual and personal significance we do not exclude a wider collective reference, just because it is the property of a good lyric to express what is deepest in the poet's own feelings, and what appeals to the hearts of the largest number of readers."[2] It seems clear that a good many psalms, originally of a more personal character, were re-edited for public worship in the Temple.[3]

(*b*) On the other hand, all will recognise that "a psalm gains in point and reality if we can give it an historical or personal background."[4] Moreover, a knowledge (where it may be had) of its date and authorship throws light upon the religious history of Israel and the course of God's dealings with His people. We shall see more in Christ's and the Christian use of the Psalms, if we learn what we can (and this may not be very much) of the original circumstances which gave rise to the several psalms,

[1] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 367 N.

[2] Robertson, *Poetry and Religion of the Psalms*, p. 276.

[3] Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 195.

[4] Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, p. xxxvii.

the moral and spiritual environment which a psalm reveals. Thus we shall see *what* Christ fulfilled as our High Priest, as Captain of our salvation, as devoted Servant of the Lord, the representative of the chosen people, as the ideal Man. "The earliest Jewish higher critics," who prefixed the titles and historical notes to the Psalms, "deserve credit (as has been said) at least for perceiving the importance of knowing the historical setting of a Psalm, even if they were not very acute in determining it."[1]

The view of the Psalter as a collection of hymns by many authors in the nine hundred years between David and the Maccabees (for it includes compositions belonging probably to both these dates[2]) gives

[1] *The Old Testament from the Modern Point of View*, by the Rev. L. W. Batten, p. 268.

The titles to the psalms generally were apparently only fixed when the psalms came into common use in the Temple service after the Return from Babylon.

a. The *musical and liturgical* notices in the titles probably belong to the period of the second Temple, when these subjects became prominent, though they may be older.

b. The *historical* notices were probably of late origin also.

c. For the probable explanation of the supposed names of *authors*, see the next page.

[2] Probably but few psalms are earlier than the seventh century B. C. Psalms xlix, lxxiv, lxxix are with considerable probability referred to the Maccabean period. For dates of the Psalter, see Kirkpatrick, *Library of the Old Testament*, Note B (criticising Cheyne), and Introduction to *The Psalms;* Driver,

a far wider assurance of sympathy with the manifold experiences of man and of the Church than could be expected in the work of a single poet, or of a small group of psalmists. "It is the surprising variety of mood and subject and occasion in the Psalms (called forth by the varied circumstances of individual or national life) which gives them their catholicity, and, combined with their deep spirituality, fits them to be the hymn-book not only of the second Temple, but of the Christian Church,"[1] — which enables us in the New World in the twentieth century, equally with Christians in the Apostolic age, to find in the Psalter, as we repeat it in our daily service, prayers applicable to all sorts of present needs and anxieties.

"A general truth is always finding fit and fitter illustrations as history goes on. No doubt many of these psalms, like all popular lyrics, would be sung often from time to time, and on every occasion be found suitable to the circumstances of those using them. In a sense it may be said that all great truths are prophetical; the more fundamental they

Introduction to the Lit. of the Old Testament, pp. 362, 363; Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in Jewish Church*, p. 205; Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 192, 270; Davison in *Hastings' Dictionary*, vol. iv, "Psalms."

[1] Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 346, 355.

are, the more will they find recurring illustration and exemplification as history is unfolded."[1]

David's name, as that of the most notable contributor, is given to the whole book, as the Psalter, the chief contribution, gives its name to the collection of Hagiographa.[2] The division of the Psalter into five books (plainly marked in the Revised Version[3]) was earlier than the Septuagint translation, for this has the doxologies with which the several books close, and the first three of these doxologies are probably editorial additions; but this fivefold division was probably a comparatively late arrangement in imitation of the five books of the Law. A better threefold division is suggested,[4] itself resulting from the union of smaller collections.

The first division, comprising Psalms i–xli, may be called "Davidic;" all but three[5] (i, ii, xxxiii) of the Psalms contained therein bear his name, not necessarily as pointing to his authorship, but rather

[1] Robertson, *Poetry and Religion of the Psalms*, p. 144.

[2] Comp. Dr. J. P. Peters's lecture on "The Psalter in the Jewish Church and in the Christian Church," in *Lauda Sion*, New York Church Club Lectures, 1896, pp. 12, 13.

[3] Bk. i, Pss. i–xli; bk. ii, Pss. xlii–lxxii; bk. iii, Pss. lxxiii–lxxxix; bk. iv, Pss. xc–cvi; bk. v, Pss. cvii–cl.

[4] *E. g.*, Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in Jewish Church*, p. 200, Kirkpatrick, *Library Old Testament*, p. 31.

[5] I do not count our Ps. x, which is really a single poem with ix.

marking the psalms as belonging to the original collection called by his name.[1]

The second division, comprising Psalms xlii–lxxxix, is "Elohistic," this peculiarity as to the use of the divine Name being probably due to the editor's revision.

The third division, comprising Psalms xc–cl, is mostly anonymous, with a few Davidic psalms that had not been included in the earlier collections.

On the formation of the Psalter I may be permitted to quote Dr. Sanday's helpful summary and illustration:[2] "Thus much is clear. The Psalter as we have it is made up of a number of smaller collections, which once had a separate existence. The best analogy for the history and structure of the Psalter would be that which is supplied by our own hymn-books. Just as the hymns of Watts and Wesley, of Newton and Cowper, of Lyte and Keble, have been to a greater or less extent incorporated into succeeding collections, so also a number of minor collections have contributed to make our present Psalter."

[1] So in the New Testament "David" seems to be equivalent to the Book of Psalms. With the title "Psalms of David" may be compared the "Proverbs of Solomon," where the book itself indicates that other collections also are contained in it.

[2] *Inspiration*, p. 193.

The names, like Asaph or the sons of Korah, in the titles of the Psalms are supposed to mark the Psalm as belonging to the hymn-book of the Levitical choir or guild that claimed descent from Asaph or from Korah. So the Precentor's collection is probably the meaning of the title "Of or for the Chief Musician." The preposition *Lamed* denotes origin rather than in the strict sense authorship.[1]

IV

The Imprecatory Psalms undoubtedly are a real cause of difficulty and distress to many serious and religious persons. "I do not like to hear them, and I will not join in them, and I cannot think how a clergyman can say them." This is the sort of expression of repulsion and perplexity that we not uncommonly meet with. "Can it be right to utter such words in Christian worship?" it is asked. "How can they be harmonized with the teaching of Jesus Christ concerning forgiveness such as we read in the Sermon on the Mount?" In reply I may quote what has been well said where a forced or laboured defence would not be looked for or found, by Prof. W. T. Davison in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.[2]

[1] See, besides the writers quoted above, Robertson, *Poetry and Religion of the Psalms*, pp. 136, 137. [2] Vol. iv. p. 158, B.

"The Imprecatory Psalms are better understood than they once were. Those who read into them a coarse vindictiveness are now seen to be no less wide of the mark than those who in a mistaken zeal contended that all the utterances of godly men in an inspired Bible must be justifiable by the highest standard. But the solution of a moral problem is not found in a timid compromise between extremes. The strong language of Psalms vii, xxxv, lxix, cix, and some others, is not to be blamed as an exhibition of a personally revengeful spirit. The law condemns this as well as the gospel; and in the Psalm which contains the strongest language the writer disclaims such culpable resentment (cix, 4, 5, 'For the love that I had unto them, lo, they take now my contrary part: but I give myself unto prayer. Thus have they rewarded me evil for good; and hatred for my good will'). Compare Psalms xxxv, 13, 'Nevertheless when they were sick, I put on sackcloth, and humbled my soul with fasting: and my prayer shall turn into mine own bosom.'"

So far as David himself is concerned (though none of the Psalms in question appear to be really his), he was (as Dr. Kay points out [1]) a remarkable example of patience under multiplied wrongs, and of magna-

[1] In his invaluable Commentary on the Psalms (unhappily now out of print), p. 467.

nimity to his foes when he had them in his power. Psalm xxxv seems to me a good illustration of the point to be seized on in the imprecatory psalms, — the singer's absolute faith in and reliance upon God's justice. The desire and claim of the psalmist is that it may be made plain that "The Lord shall stand at the right hand of the poor, to save his soul from unrighteous judges." [1] "Let not them that trust in thee, O Lord God of hosts, be ashamed for my cause: let not them that seek thee be confounded through me [and my misfortunes, not my faults], O Lord God of Israel." [2] God's vindication of His servants, and of the cause of right and truth, was called for in ways that were natural at the time, in the absence, especially, of any clear revelation of the resurrection of the dead and of eternal judgment. [3] With their limited horizon, the immediate manifestation of God's righteous judgment was impatiently demanded. For the Psalmists it was practically Now or Never. With the clearer view of the future world vouchsafed to us, we have learned both to wait patiently, and to look for a worthier display of the divine character and power in overcoming evil with good after much long-suffering. [4] "O let the vengeance of thy servants' blood that is shed be openly showed upon the

[1] Ps. cix. 30.
[2] Ps. lxix. 6, 34.
[3] Heb. vi. 2; comp. 2 Tim. i. 10.
[4] 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

heathen in our sight," the Christian Church may still cry. But she has learned from her Master (who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them)[1] in what that longed for vengeance should consist, in a victory as blessed to the vanquished as to the conqueror.

"It may indeed be well to consider whether the Old Testament saints, in the vigour and simplicity of their piety, did not cherish a righteous resentment against evil which the more facile and languid moral sense of later generations would have done well to preserve. 'O ye that love Jehovah, hate evil' is an exhortation that belongs not to one age, but to all time."[2] "Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee: and am not I grieved with those that rise up against me? Yea, I hate them right sore: even as though they were mine enemies."[3] It has been truly said, "An identity of wishes and aversions, this alone is true friendship." Certainly, the fear of the Lord is to hate evil. Was it not of Dante that it was said, he was a good lover, because he knew how to hate? Some words of Bishop Thirlwall, I think, first made clear to me the weakness and flabbiness of that general "amiability," which some people are apt to identify with Christian charity,— not sufficiently in

[1] Luke ix. 55. [2] Davison as above.
[3] Ps. cxxxix. 21, 22.

love with anything to hate its opposite. Speaking of Thackeray, and defending him from the charge of being cynical, which the dulness of many attributed to him, Bishop Thirlwall said, "I believe that nobody loved more everything and everybody that was worth loving. But what would have been the value or merit of such love if he had not keenly perceived and felt the difference between that which was to be loved and that which was to be hated, or had shut his eyes to the dark side of the world?"[1]

We must learn to distinguish not merely between personal injuries (as we regard them) and real wrongdoing, but also between the evil deed and the evil doer. Seeking to see all from God's point of view, we shall learn to love the sinner while we hate the sin; to hate sin — all sin — wherever we see it, and first of all, where we are most responsible for it, in ourselves; and to love the sinner, not with the love of complacence, but with that love of pity which moved the all holy God to give His only begotten Son for and to the fallen world, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish in his sin, but, being delivered therefrom, should have eternal life.[2] Let intelligent Christians, then, join in these denunciatory Psalms without scruple of conscience, thank-

[1] Letters Literary and Theological, p. 243.
[2] John iii. 16.

ing God for the fuller knowledge and the higher standard He has given us, and aiming the denunciations (clothed of course in figurative language) against moral evil, all that contradicts God's will and insults His sovereignty, and knowing that personal beings fall under the woes only so far as they wilfully and persistently cling to and wrap themselves in the evil from which God, the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier, is ever seeking to disentangle them. In the end His wrath must be revealed (and in that revelation all who are true-hearted will exult) "against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold down the truth in unrighteousness."[1] This zeal for God's honour, this passionate desire for righteousness, are as much features in the picture of the true worshipper set before us in the Psalms as are the elements of meekness, penitence, and patient suffering.

To conclude. The Psalms we value and recite as utterances of the human soul to God in varying circumstances, and with varying degrees of discernment as to the manifold ways in which His purposes shall be accomplished. They are taken up by our Lord, the perfect man; in Him they find their highest and deepest meaning. From Him we receive them, and seek to use them with His intention by the aid of

[1] Rom. i. 18; Rev. xi. 17, 18, xviii. 20, xix. 2.

His Spirit. And we will set ourselves to become really familiar with this divinely provided manual of devotion (so tender and so strong), to know our way about it, and where to turn for prayers and hymns suitable for different experiences and needs, for psalms of penitence and supplication, of praise and thanksgiving, of instruction and of colloquy with God. This, my brothers, you should do for your own use, and in view likewise of your future ministry to others, that, through his knowledge of this, as of other parts of Holy Scripture, "the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work" — and word.[1]

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 17.

LECTURE V

THE READING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

In treating of the reading of the Old Testament in the public worship of the Church we cannot ignore a considerable change of front among scholars and thoughtful men in regard to the Old Testament, or as to the nature of the methods by which God's revelation of Himself in the Old Testament has been conveyed.[1] This changed view has led to a neglect of private reading of the Old Testament, and to questions as to the profitableness of its use in public worship. There is an uncomfortable feeling abroad, which we shall do well frankly to face. Knowing that the traditional authorship and dates of large portions of the Old Testament are questioned (for conspicuous instances may be mentioned Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch generally, the latter part

[1] Sanday, *Oracles of God*, p. 7; comp. Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament*, p. 7; Kirkpatrick, *Div. Library of the Old Testament*, p. 88.

of Isaiah, and Daniel), people imagine that the value of the books and their religious teaching is thereby impaired, if not destroyed. The same result is apt to follow in many minds from doubts being thrown on the historical character or accuracy of several books (again to take conspicuous instances, Jonah, Chronicles, Esther). And again difficulties are occasioned by the imperfect morality shown in different parts of the Old Testament, *e. g.*, in the stories of the patriarchs, the wars of extermination, the imprecatory psalms. The facts underlying these objections being generally acknowledged, and arguments in denial regarded as forced, the question is asked, What is the good of our reading these Old Testament books, or the great mass of them?

By way of reply our object should surely be, and I feel confident we can attain it, to offer reasonable explanation of these facts, and then to show that rightly understood, instead of furnishing valid objections to reading the Old Testament Scriptures, they point to distinct advantages afforded by the practice.[1]

[1] As an illustration of this treatment of the Bible, I would refer (without adopting all the positions there taken) to *An Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures* by the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. Boyd Carpenter, in *The Temple Bible.* Comp. the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Parks's lecture on "Holy Scripture" in the *Churchman's League Lectures*, Washington, 1902.

(1) First; many difficulties are at once forestalled when we recognize that the revelation which we have in the Old Testament of God's being and character, of His mind and purpose, belongs to a preparatory stage of His self-manifestation, given πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, in many fragments and in many fashions, unto the fathers.[1] In the very imperfections that mark the lives of His servants in early times, and their conceptions of divine things, we see an illustration of God's patience and consideration, teaching men as they were able to receive His word, leading them on gently step by step to higher levels of thought and conduct. This thought may surely be full of comfort when we are tempted to be discouraged at our own slow progress; it should serve likewise as a pattern for our dealing with others, whether individuals, classes, or races, in lower stages of spiritual development. It can hardly be necessary to point out how the New Testament writers, and our Lord's own teaching, recognized this condescension and adaptation of divine teaching to the actual needs and capacities of people in older times. In the sermon on the mount what "was said to them of old time" (there is no doubt that the dative gives the right translation here) is distinctly contrasted with the fuller, deeper teaching which Christ gives

[1] Heb. i. 1.

to His disciples, in no way contradicting but expanding the old precept and showing the reach of its spirit.[1]

So with the permission for divorce given in the Mosaic law on account of the hardness of men's hearts.[2] These laws were all on an upward line; they restrained within certain limits what outside the discipline of the divine school was far more unbridled in the indulgence of passion or revenge; they prepared the way for the fuller teaching which should be given in more advanced classes (so to speak) of God's scholars. The kindergarten with its object lessons and baby language precedes and prepares the way for the inculcation of principles to those who have mastered its early teaching. Bishop Gore sums up the explanation of St. Chrysostom on this subject as showing that "it is the very merit of the Old Testament that it has taught us to think things intolerable, which under it were tolerated."[3] In the Book of the Covenant, Ex. xx. 23 — xxiii. 33, — next to the Decalogue itself the oldest and simplest of the codes embodied in the Pentateuch — the law of retaliation, eye for eye and tooth for tooth, was

[1] Matt. v. 21, 27, 33, 38, 43.

[2] Matt. xix. 7, 8.

[3] *Lux Mundi* (12th ed.), p. 241. See Chrys. *Hom. in Matth.* xvii. 5, 6. (Montfaucon, t. vii. pp. 262, 263.)

probably in the first instance a mitigation of existing practice; it seems to have meant not "an eye shall be exacted," but "only an eye may be exacted." And "side by side with this principle," Dr. Sanday points out, "we have the germs of another which was destined ultimately to supersede it. The Christian precept is, 'Love your enemies.' But a distinct step has been taken towards loving one's enemy when it is laid down that his ox or his ass are not to suffer, that they are to be restored to him when they go astray, and that, enemy though he is, if his ass should fall under its burden it is to be relieved. The consideration which is extended to an enemy's chattels may soon come to be extended to himself."[1]

(2) Closely connected with the plan of God, made clear by a study of the Old Testament Scriptures, gradually to reveal Himself through preparatory stages up to the full disclosure of His character and mind in Christ, is the thought which the reading of the Old Testament should constantly bring home to us of the enormous debt we owe to the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, in raising our standards and illuminating our darkness. We are so accustomed to the radiance of Christianity; it has become so much a part of the mental and moral atmosphere we continually breathe, that we do not realize how

[1] Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 182.

different life would be without the grace and truth that came by Jesus Christ.[1] The very imperfections of Old Testament religion, its crudities in worship and limitations of thought, the weakness and impotency of the law on which St. Paul continually dwelt, — all that sometimes startles us in reading its sacred books, should by the very shock we feel help us to recognize how great are the special gifts of the Christian religion, and give meaning to our Whitsuntide preface at the Eucharist, wherein we give thanks that we have been "brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of God and of His Son Jesus Christ." Is it not for lack of this realization of what we owe to Christianity — even those who but poorly correspond with its teaching — that persons are tempted to take up with various un-Christian theories or philosophies, — Buddhism, Theosophy, or Agnosticism? Rejoicing in the security and refinements of civilization, which are really due to Christian influence; accustomed to the thought of God as a gracious Father, which is learned from His Son's revelation of Him; with light thrown on death and the future world by Him who brought life and immortality to light, — they take these blessings as a matter of course, and fondly imagine that if the Christian ele-

[1] See Illingworth, *Reason and Revelation*, p. 154.

ments were substracted from the world's life and thought, all would remain much as before, with perchance only a few unnecessary restrictions on thought or conduct removed. In the complaint of God through the Prophet,[1] "They knew not that it was I who healed them; who taught Ephraim to walk, who in mercy lifted off the yoke" of bondage to passion and greed and cruelty, and set before them the wholesome food whereby, albeit all unconsciously, their life, personal and collective, has been nourished and developed. Alas, denying the Son, they are bound by degrees to lose the knowledge of the Father also whom He declares.[2] We on the contrary will protest, "Thou hast been our succour: leave us not, O God of our salvation."[3]

(3) In another aspect the moral teaching of the Old Testament, and of its early books, is of the greatest value, in that they set before us examples of great, and in a sense of isolated, virtues, that could be illustrated better in early times than when life and character became more complex. The stories of the Old Testament worthies, summarized from a particular point of view in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, fasten attention on great outshining points of character. The faith of Abraham and his will-

[1] Hos. xi. 3. [2] 1 John ii. 23.
[3] Ps. xxvii. 11.

ingness at what he supposed to be God's word to sacrifice his son, the dutifulness of Isaac as son and husband, the purity and unselfishness of Joseph, the generosity of David, the unworldliness of Daniel, — all are exhibited on a large scale, as was possible in simple days, and as prominent characteristics are seen in the conduct of children. It is by fastening on these leading points in characters drawn large and with a free hand, that we gain the real help which much of the Old Testament is intended to afford.

Specially attractive as these stories are for children in years, they are no less valuable for children in the faith, for persons or nations in lower stages of religious development. One can well imagine that the stories of the patriarchs or of characters in the historical books (the works of the "former prophets") might be most suitable for the instruction of catechumens in many mission fields, leading up to the more subtle and complex ethical and spiritual teachings of the New Testament, as natural virtues must ever be the foundation of those which are called supernatural. For many in our ordinary congregations I am sure the Old Testament stories afford a most helpful stepping-stone to higher things, having that link with common life — both personal and national — which they do not so readily grasp in the New Testament.

(4) Again, we must never forget that the Old Testament Scriptures still have their part to play in the insistence on that side of God's revelation which is specially emphasized in the older books of the Bible. The holiness of God, His hatred of evil, the sureness of His judgments on wrong-doing — while all this is clear in the teaching of our Lord and His apostles,[1] it was specially the function of the Law and the Prophets to enforce these truths.[2] They belong especially and necessarily to the fundamental instruction, without which the aspects of God's character later revealed would almost certainly be misinterpreted. The Law, in the widest sense, was and is still the παιδαγωγός, the tutor to give preliminary instruction that man may be prepared for the higher teaching of Christ.[3] The recognition of God's requirements, the sense of our need both of forgiveness for sins and failures, and of help to correspond with His commands, these convictions must be brought home, and that continually, if Christ's offers of pardon and grace are to be appreciated. "The preach-

[1] Matt. xxiii. 23–33; Mark ix. 42–48; Rom. ii. 2–9; 2 Thess. i. 6–9; Rev. vi. 14–17, xxi. 8, 27.

[2] Heb. xii. 18–29.

[3] Gal. iii. 24. See a sermon (xii) on "The Tutorial Office of the Jewish Law" in Dr. Liddon's *Sermons on Some Words of St. Paul*, and another on the same subject ("The Law and the Gospel") in an Advent course (1880), published under the title *Present Church Troubles*.

ing of the cross" has often been fruitless because the divine order has not been observed. The New Testament has been practically placed before the Old Testament. St. John Baptist, the preacher of repentance, has not prepared the way for Christ. The conviction of sin should have preceded the pointing to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world.

Moreover, our Lord's use of the Old Testament in reply to the temptations of the evil one shows that for the most advanced in the service of God the old Scriptures have still their practical value, as belonging to the sword of God's word which the Spirit provides, whereby the crafty insinuations and fallacious subtleties of the father of lies should be pierced and exposed. To each of the suggestions recorded in our Lord's narrative of the Temptation, Christ replied by a quotation from Deuteronomy, "It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God;" "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt (*i. e.*, wrongly put to the test) the Lord thy God;" "It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."[1] The

[1] Matt. iv. 3–10; Luke iv. 3–10. The author may be allowed to refer to his Baldwin Lectures, *Christ's Temptation and Ours*, pp. 81–83.

old words addressed to Israel, since they proclaim fundamental truths, have a universal application, and last on for ever. They belong to all sons of men, and to the Son of man. This of course is but a sample (but it is evidently intended to be this) of the way in which we should store up for use the exhortations, and promises, and warnings of the older Scriptures as we read them in private or in public.

(5) "The old lesson-book," as has been said, "is not to be thrown away, or kept merely as an archaeological curiosity. It is to be re-studied in the light of the further revelation of Christ's life and teaching and work."[1] This is true. It is also to be remembered that a knowledge of the Old Testament is necessary to a right understanding of the New Testament. "It may safely be said, that either the Old without the New Testament, or the New without the Old were equally an enigma. The two are mutually interpretative."[2] Much of the language of the New Testament would be unintelligible, or liable to misapprehension, without the key which the Old Testament supplies; for instance, the whole region of thought (as well as the separate expressions) concerning sacrifice. The proclamation of our Lord

[1] Kirkpatrick, *Library of the Old Testament*, p. 113.

[2] Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. i. p. 344.

as the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,[1] His giving His life a ransom for many,[2] the blood of the new covenant,[3] and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ,[4] the conception of Him as the high priest who enters within the veil;[5] all these expressions (which I purposely take from different portions of the New Testament, and which will be recognized as mere samples of its constant language) would be meaningless without familiarity with the Old Testament ceremonies or prophecies which it is claimed are fulfilled in Christ our Lord.

In the Old Testament we see heathen ideas of sacrifice elevated and purged,[6] and so a preparation made for the spiritual conception of Obedience as the only true and acceptable sacrifice, taught in the New Testament and realized in our Lord Jesus Christ,[7] who both offers Himself without spot to God, an offering of sweet savour on behalf of all,[8] as their Representative and Leader, and by the

[1] John i. 29.
[2] Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45.
[3] Luke xxii. 20.
[4] 1 Pet. i, 2.
[5] Heb. iv. 14, vi. 20, x. 21.
[6] See Bishop Moorhouse, *Teaching of Christ*, pp. 11–19, and C. F. Burney in *Contentio Veritatis*, p. 180.
[7] Heb. x. 5–10; Phil. ii. 8.
[8] Eph. v. 2.

communication of His life, represented by His blood,[1] enables His disciples with ever-increasing reality to offer themselves to the Father, along with Him their Head, as a holy and living sacrifice, their reasonable service.[2]

(6) Having thus rapidly glanced at some of the chief purposes for which the Old Testament is read in the Christian Church, and having seen its profitableness for "teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness,"[3] we are in a position to see how little the results of critical study interfere with the legitimate use of the old Scriptures. The time is past (we may thankfully acknowledge) when "it did not seem possible to be critical and yet reverent, devout and yet candid."[4] Let us consider in this light some results generally (not universally) acknowledged, of sober criticism as distinct from the guesses of individual speculation.

(*a*) Does it make any difference for the moral and religious teaching of Deuteronomy, for such purposes as those for which (as we have seen) Christ used the book in the Temptation, if we regard the book as containing not what Moses actually said on the plains

[1] See the Note on "The idea of Christ's Blood in the New Testament" in Westcott's *Epistles of St. John*, p. 34.

[2] Rom. xii. 1. See note on p. 104.

[3] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

[4] Sanday, *Oracles of God*, p. 13.

of Moab, but admonitions conceived in the spirit of Moses and first addressed to the men of Manasseh's or Josiah's time?[1] "The modern critical theory does not regard Deuteronomy as a 'pious forgery' or 'fiction' [as is sometimes supposed]. The writer makes use of an older legislation, and reformulates it in accordance with the needs of his times. The antiquity of the great bulk of the laws of Deuteronomy can be proved; while such laws as are really new are but the logical and consistent development of Mosaic principles."[2]

(*b*) If it should be proved (as is now supposed with great probability) that the Levitical law as we have it belongs to the time of the Return from the Captivity, and is a manual of priestly directions for the second Temple, this would in no way interfere with its value as setting forth in symbolic form great laws of sacrifice, which were perfectly realized in our Lord Jesus Christ. Mosaic institutions of sacrifice, which were themselves probably modifications of existing Semitic customs, might well be developed and elaborated, as their inner meaning was, under the con-

[1] Kirkpatrick, *Library of the Old Testament*, pp. 46, 47. The internal evidence for the late date of Deuteronomy is well given, and in a way that the English reader can appreciate it, in Batten's *The Old Testament from the modern point of view*, ch. iii.

[2] Burney in *Contentio Veritatis*, p. 203.

tinual teaching of the Spirit of God, more and more perceived.[1]

(*c*) The case is much the same with the grouping of writings by different authors under the name of some great master, like Isaiah or Zechariah. Modern ideas of literary propriety were not then prevalent, especially in the delivery of God's word. The prophet counted for little; the message was everything.[2] Why should it not be so with us who hear and read?

[1] "We can recognize in our Pentateuch different *strata* of priestly and ceremonial laws. They have come down to us from different periods of the history. When we once grasp this idea firmly, we see that it would be as much a mistake to affirm that the Priestly Laws were created *en bloc* in the days of the Exile or of Ezra, as to maintain that they had been promulgated, in the form in which they have come down to us, in the days of Moses." — Bishop H. E. Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 27, 28.

[2] Archbishop Benson, Third Visitation Charge at Canterbury, *Fishers of Men*, p. 89. "The authorship of the Books is sometimes spoken of as of supreme importance. But is it essential that I should know the author? Is it on that or is it on the contents of the treatise that my faith hangs? I do not know the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Every attempt to fix him is beset with difficulties. Yet that book is the bridge between the Old and the New Testament, and no position or name of writer could strengthen it. I have no doubt that St. John the Apostle wrote the fourth Gospel, but if I thought some other had composed it, I should have one more surprising genius to admire with veneration, but it would not diminish the value of his Christ, of the Life and Light of the world."

"Let it not trouble you whether the writer be of weight or no,
Whether his name be great or small,
But let the love of simple truth draw you to read your book.
You must not ask who said it,
But what is said — attend to that.
God's truth remains for ever though men pass away,
And, without caring for the person of the writer,
God speaks to us in many ways."[1]

(*d*) Once more; if portions of the Old Testament that had been commonly regarded as historical are now seen to be dramatic like Job, or in part allegorical like Jonah or some of the early chapters of Genesis,[2] or in part to idealize history like the Chronicles, reading back into the events of earlier days something of the writer's own time and views, and so colouring the narrative[3]: do such positions, if accepted, make the Old Testament Scriptures less valuable for their religious purpose, to make us wise unto salvation, "to teach us about man and his need of Christ, about God and His purpose for humanity, about the conditions of acceptable worship and the attainment of perfect character?"[4]

[1] *Imitation of Christ* (Musica Ecclesiastica), i. v.

[2] On the probable origin of these stories as selected and purged pre-historic legends, and on their religious significance, see *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, by Bishop H. E. Ryle.

[3] For a careful examination and estimate of the Chronicles see ch. xii of Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*.

[4] Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament*, pp. 48, 49.

The writers of the Old Testament (it must always be kept in mind) do not profess to be narrating, like the apostles, what they themselves have seen and heard. The writer of Genesis, for instance, (at whatever date) makes no claim to have been an eyewitness of the Creation, the Fall, or the Flood. The "former prophets" wrote their stories of the Judges and the Kings, not as annalists (to whom indeed they frequently refer readers who desire more detailed accounts) but (as the very title given them by the Jews implies) from a religious standpoint, tracing God's hand in the history, pointing continually to its moral lessons.

Would the play of Macbeth be thought less valuable as a study of character because Shakespeare built on and around the traditional story of the person many incidents not actually historical? "That which is really important is that the narrator has handed down a conception of man's relationship to God which commends itself to the human conscience in all time, and lays the basis for moral and spiritual progress. He is a prophet, inasmuch as his mission is to convey to the world the mind and purpose of God with regard to man. Whether in developing his theme he confines himself to facts of history or draws to some extent upon his imagination is a question of subordinate importance,

interesting the historian rather than the religious thinker." [1]

In the same way we may well believe that in the intercourse described between God and man the organ of vision may often have been the eye of the spirit and not the bodily eye. Most of us, I suppose, have been accustomed to think this must have been the case with the sights beheld and the voices heard by St. John in Patmos.[2]

"The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy," and this testimony is given in manifold ways as with manifold degrees of clearness.[3]

[1] "The Permanent Religious Value of the Old Testament," by C. F. Burney, in *Contentio Veritatis*, pp. 174, 175.

[2] Sanday, *Oracles of God*, p. 49.

[3] Rev. xix. 10. See *The Old Testament as an Essential Part of the Revelation of God*, by W. Lock, Warden of Keble College, in "Oxford House Papers," 3rd series. "In Bishop Butler's words, 'The general design of Scripture is to give us an account of the world as God's world' (*Analogy*, II. c. vii); and therefore the Church has carried the Old Testament, no less than the New, to Gentile nations as well as to the Jews. She admits that the Old is always subordinate to the New; she supplies in her Creed a guide to the central teaching of both Old and New; but she puts both into the hands of her converts. And the Old Testament justifies her trust no less than the New. The missionary finds in it guidance for dealing with elementary stages of civilisation; the mother finds simple stories by which her child's faith and courage are awakened, — the preacher, an inexhaustible store of character, true to life and revealing moral truth in every page; the religious soul finds in the Psalms all the ex-

(7) The newer, and I venture to say the more scholarly, way of regarding the Old Testament may involve the surrender of cherished ideas; it will require more research and greater pains on our part as students and as teachers. From all this we must not shrink. We shall find a gain far more than compensating for any loss we suffer. Sober criticism will be found the ally, and not the enemy, of theology and religion.[1]

(*a*) We shall gain, for instance, a more vivid realization both of the Old Testament writers and of their message, as we come to understand their actual circumstances. Robertson Smith helpfully says,

pression that it needs of faith and hope and penitence; the pious student turns back from the revelations of the New Testament, and finds foreshadowings, hints, types, of the Incarnation or the Cross in details of the earlier narrative. Just as when we know the issue of a drama, we turn back and find hints of the issue where we had not noticed them in our first reading; or, as the biologist who knows the final structure of an animal can interpret the meaning of each line or curve in the embryo; so he who knows the meaning of the revelation of the Gospel, can find traces of similar truths in the earlier Scriptures, nay, finds the same truth there — the Presence of One God ever working for one end, the redemption of man." — p. 102.

[1] Kirkpatrick, *Library of the Old Testament*, pp. x and 23. I should like to refer to some singularly helpful "Parish Clergyman's Thoughts about the Higher Criticism," by the Rev. G. S. Streatfeild, in *The Expositor* for December, 1902.

"Every word of God is spoken for all time, but every word none the less was first spoken to a present necessity of God's people."[1] Prof. George Adam Smith's *Book of the Twelve Prophets* must with many have brought life and reality to what before were pale and shadowy figures. Dr. Sanday well says with reference to these and other such studies: "Isaiah and Hosea and Jeremiah no longer walk in a *limbus Patrum*, but we see them as they were among the forces by which they were actually surrounded. We see what they were as men; we see what they were as exponents of a message from God; we see the grand and glorious ideas which stirred within them in all their richness and fulness, conditioned, yet not wholly conditioned, by the world of thought and act in which they moved. We see these ideas linking themselves together, stretching hands as it were across the ages, the root-principles of the Old Testament running on into the New, and there attaining developments which may have been present to the Divine Mind — though they cannot have been present to the human instruments whose words went and came at its prompting."[2]

[1] *Old Testament in Jewish Church*, p. 99.
[2] *Oracles of God*, pp. 120, 121.

(*b*) I have already pointed to the heightening of the sense of God's patience and of the resourcefulness of His revelation in its adaptation to varying circumstances, to which the critical study of the earlier Scriptures leads. I may here quote the words of Bishop Westcott with reference to the threefold division of the Old Testament Scriptures, as representing progressive stages in Israel's training:

"The triple division of the Old Testament is itself not a mere accidental or arbitrary arrangement, but a reflection of the different stages of religious development through which the Jewish nation passed. The *Law* is the foundation of the whole revelation, the special discipline by which a chosen race was trained from a savage wilfulness to the accomplishment of its divine work. The *Prophets* portray the struggles of the same people when they came into closer connexion with the kingdoms of the world. The *Hagiographa* carry the divine lesson yet further, and show its working in the varying phases of individual life, and in relation to the great problems of thought and feeling, which present themselves by a necessary law in the later stages of civilization."[1]

[1] Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 501, art. "Canon of Scripture."

(*c*) While a re-arrangement of Old Testament books, and a re-adjustment of ideas concerning some of them, will doubtless occasion temporary disquiet in a good many minds, it will be found that, through these very processes which at first excite suspicion, serious historical difficulties and contradictions are explained.[1] As an example one may refer to the conduct of eminent servants of God, like Samuel and Elijah, and to the general and unreproved disregard of precepts concerning sacrifice throughout the times of the Monarchy, inexplicable if the full Levitical law had been given by God through Moses.[2]

(*d*) The later date now commonly given to the Levitical law and to a large portion of the Psalter points (as has been already said) to a wider and

[1] See Sanday, *Inspiration*, at the end of lect. ii. He summarizes the crucial points in critical theories of the Old Testament as follows, accepting them with a sense of gain rather than of loss:

General: (1) The untrustworthy character of Jewish traditions or conjectures as to authorship unless confirmed by internal evidence;

(2) The composite character of many books;

Particular: (3) The presence in the Pentateuch of a considerable element which in its present shape is not earlier than the Captivity;

(4) The composition of Deuteronomy not long before its promulgation by King Josiah, B. C. 621.

[2] See Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in Jewish Church*, lect. ix, "The Law and the History of Israel before the Exile."

more continual inspiration of Israel, a more helpful and encouraging conception than that which practically concentrated divine teaching on a few pre-eminent servants of God. "The great Lawgiver, who was the founder, became also the personification of Hebrew legislation, as David was of the poetry, and Solomon of the wisdom of Israel, and, it may be added, as Solon was of Athenian legislation." [1]

(*e*) Above all, the religious standpoint of the Old Testament writers is emphasized, especially as it is seen in the use made (by the inspiration of selection) of existing traditions, which are purified from their grossness and the errors that would affect their religious influence. Compare the Scriptural accounts (there are probably two woven together) [2] of the Deluge with the Chaldee story, and the contrast will be evident. The polytheism of the older story, with its representation of the disaster as due to the whimsical caprice of rival deities, is replaced by the representation in Genesis of the Flood as a manifestation of the anger of the holy Creator at the corruption of mankind. Comparing the Hebrew and

[1] Bishop H. E. Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament* (2nd ed.), p. 32.

[2] See chh. xvi and xviii in *The Book of Genesis in the light of modern knowledge*, by the Rev. Elwood Worcester.

the Assyro-Babylonian narratives of the Flood, one cannot fail to observe, as Bishop Ryle sums it up, "the contrast between the cuneiform picture of the deities, some angry, some interceding, some frightened, some summoning the storm, others fleeing from it; and the Hebrew picture of the God of heaven and earth, who alone inflicts the calamity as a punishment, alone abates it, and alone is the deliverer of Noah and his family."[1]

Enough has, I trust, been said to vindicate the Church's practice of reading in the proper and daily lessons the Old Testament Scriptures as well as, and along with, those of the New Testament. The first lesson sometimes in its contrast with the teaching of the second lesson, more often in its preparation therefor, will be not less profitable in our day and with our clearer knowledge of the origin and composition of the older Scriptures, than when these were less critically examined, and less intelligently, though certainly most devoutly studied. This does seem to be required, that the people of our congregations should be carefully and tenderly, but frankly, taught in sermons and expositions (about which I hope to say more in the concluding lecture) the ascertained, or even the really probable, facts

[1] *Early Narratives*, p. 115.

(such as I have referred to in these lectures) about the character of the Old Testament; and, where the teacher is qualified to do so, about the structure of its books. So also with the New Testament. Thus objections and difficulties may be removed, or, better, their sting withdrawn by anticipation.

Speaking on this subject at the last Church Congress in England, Dr. Kirkpatrick, to whose words I have frequently referred, said: —

"New modes of thought, more searching methods of literary and historical investigation, fresh discoveries of science and archæology must necessarily affect and modify the interpretation of the Bible. The clergy are in duty bound to endeavour to understand the methods of criticism, to estimate the validity of its results, and to consider how these results, if true, must affect their teaching. For if those methods are, generally speaking, sound; if those results are, to any considerable extent, valid; readers of the Bible must be gently and gradually prepared to accept them. The responsibility laid upon the teachers of the present generation is to guide those entrusted to their care through the inevitable dangers of a time of change; to show that the Bible is not less the Word of God because we are forced, in the light of modern research, to acknowledge that it does not possess many char-

acteristics which it was once believed to possess, and which have come to be regarded as essential notes of a record of Divine revelation; to explain how its religious value is not diminished, but increased, by a courageous treatment of it in the light of fuller knowledge. The clergy who are to teach must teach themselves; they have promised to be diligent in such studies as help to the knowledge of Holy Scripture; and some knowledge of modern criticism is indispensable, partly that they may avoid basing the truth of Christianity upon insecure foundations, and defending positions which they will presently be forced to abandon; partly that they may not be guilty of ignoring new light upon the meaning of Scripture which God intends should be thrown by the progress of modern thought."[1]

[1] *The Guardian*, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 1472.

LECTURE VI

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

Our concluding lecture will be more varied in the matter which it discusses than those which have preceded, in each of which one special department of the general subject was under consideration. Here I must attempt in part to supplement what has been already said, and more particularly to make some practical suggestions in reference to the use of Holy Scripture in the public worship of the Church.

1. First by way of supplement, after a fuller treatment of the regular offices for the Eucharist and for Morning and Evening Prayer, a few words may be said concerning the use of Scripture in the occasional services. In the plentiful provision of lessons in the Anglican rite we see the desire to show Scriptural warrant for every ministration, as the continual exhortations were designed to explain the meaning of the services now said in the vernacular. These exhortations after three centuries may well be

felt to be superfluous. But the value of the Scripture readings, which are by no means wholly of post-Reformation origin, is undoubted.

Thus in the occasional offices we have a Gospel lection provided for the ministration of Baptism to infants and to adults; a lesson from the Acts at Confirmation; a penitential psalm (cxxx) at the Visitation of the Sick, and one of thanksgiving (cxvi) at the Churching of Women; selections from Psalms xxxix and xc at the Burial of the Dead, with 1 Cor. xv for a lesson. Our form of the Solemnization of Matrimony has lost, with the second part of the English service, the psalms therein appointed for the approach to the altar after the completion of the betrothal. In the Burial office we may plead for the provision of alternative lessons. St. Paul's magnificent treatise on the Resurrection may be regarded as both too long and too argumentative for unvarying use. Such passages as the latter part of 1 Thess. iv (formerly read as the Epistle) and parts of St. John v or vi (from which Requiem Gospels were taken), with perhaps other readings from the Revelation, might be allowed at the discretion of the minister. Nor are our appointed psalms appropriate for the burial of children. Here, too, alternatives might be taken from the much fuller rites which in former times the Church lovingly provided

for the commendation of her dying and departed members, a provision which, without injustice it may be said, our Prayer Book but meagrely reflects. Speaking for oneself the longer time spent of old by friends in psalmody and eucharist would be a great gain on the appreciative memorial notices which people nowadays draw up and send to the Church newspapers, about which one always feels that they must make the departed shiver as he now sees himself in the clearer light of truth. What friends will say for us or with us must surely be more comforting then than what they say about us![1]

The Apostolic Constitutions at the end of the sixth book give a convenient résumé of burial rites, to which we find scattered references in the Fathers. "Without such observations [Jewish ceremonies of purification after contact with the dead], assemble in the cemeteries, reading the sacred scriptures, and singing for the martyrs which are fallen asleep, and for all the saints from the beginning of the world, and for your brethren that sleep in the Lord, and offer the acceptable eucharist, the representation of the royal body of Christ, both in your churches and in the cemeteries; and in the funerals of the departed accompany them with singing, if they were

[1] Compare the striking words of the late Dean Church, quoted at the end of the Preface to his *Life and Letters*, p. xxiv.

faithful in the Lord. For 'precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.'"[1]

2. Passing from the occasional offices I would point to the advantage of the Prayer Book rule according to which it is ordered, after the minds of the ancient fathers (as the English preface "Concerning the service of the Church" declares) "that all the whole Bible, or the greatest part thereof, should be read over once every year; intending thereby, that the clergy, and especially such as were ministers in the congregation, should (by often reading and meditating on God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the truth; and further, that the people (by daily hearing of Holy Scripture read in the Church) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of His true religion." The reading of the Scriptures in "such a Language and Order as is most plain for the understanding both of the Readers and Hearers" is an inestimable gain. (*a*) While Roman Catholics are obliged to resort to

[1] Apost. Const. bk. vi. vi. 30 (Lagarde, pp. 154, 194). Ante-Nicene Lib. xvii. p. 175. Psalm cxvi seems to have been commonly used in burial rites. See note, p. 177 of St. Augustine's *Confessions*, in Oxford Library of the Fathers.

other services for popular use, such as Litanies, the Stations of the Cross, the Rosary, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament (the celebration of the Eucharist is not here in question), because the people are practically barred, by unfamiliarity with Latin, from the Breviary office with its Psalms and Scripture lessons, we should not abandon or neglect the provision we have for a more intelligent and worthy service, helpful as some popular devotions may be for occasional use. The neglect of daily service in the great majority of our churches, and the scanty attendance (except in Lent) where the Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer is observed, even in large cities, is a real loss. As Bishop Forbes of Brechin said, Not without profound practical benefit is "that calm, unexcited devotion, in which prayer, praise, and Scriptural instruction are so happily blended, persisted in year by year."[1] With regard to the duty of the clergy in this matter, it may not be amiss to quote the words of Bishop Cosin, one of the leading members of the commission at the last English revision, 1662. Though the express rule of the English rubric[2] is not in our Prayer

[1] "The Deepening of the Spiritual Life," a paper read at the Leeds Church Congress, 1872.

[2] "All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause."

Book, for those who set store by Catholic tradition the general custom of the Church must have weight, while the spiritual benefits are not dependent on actual obligation. "We are also bound," says Cosin, "as all priests are in the Church of Rome, daily to repeat and say the public prayers of the Church. And it is a precept the most useful and necessary of any other that belong to the ministers of God, and such as have the cure of other men's souls, would men regard it, and practise it a little more than they do among us. . . . We are to remember that we which are priests are called *Angeli Domini;* and it is the angel's office, not only to descend to the people and teach them God's will, but to ascend also to the presence of God to make intercession for the people, and to carry up the daily prayers of the Church in their behalf, as here they are bound to do."[1]

While urging the regular daily service of the Prayer Book (not its occasional use, on one evening in the week) with a trained congregation, and for the training of intelligent people, I would make an earnest plea for the use of elastic, non-liturgical devotions for such persons as are not intellectually fitted to appreciate our Order for Morning and

[1] Cosin, Works (Anglo-Catholic Library), vol. v, pp. 9, 11. Quoted by Dr. Liddon in his essay on "The Priest in his Inner Life," *Clerical Life and Work*, pp. 15, 18.

Evening Prayer. Such services need not be connected with extemporaneous prayer, they may be orderly and reverent, while nearer to the actual needs and capacities of the people. For instance, I would suggest beginning after a collect, and perhaps a hymn, with reading a portion of Scripture; then expounding what has been read; and following the exposition with acts of devotion suggested by the subject, — the Creed, or the General Confession, or the Thanksgiving. Suitable collects, and appropriate psalms too, would be used: and all these would mean more to the people in the ordinary service, when their special significance had been perceived and felt in this extraordinary use.

We need to ask that it may be distinctly conceded (by the amendment of a rubric if necessary) that we are at liberty outside the regular services (and whether these had been already publicly said or not), in places where these are not suitable, to have, in our churches as well as elsewhere, such elastic devotions as I have recommended.

In particular I would plead for a more frequent reversal of the common order of first Prayers and then Preaching. Doubtless in divine service this is the order of importance, but then in ecclesiastical precedence the place of dignity is generally at the end, and led up to by representatives of lesser rank,

as we have seen to be the case with the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel. Common sense would imply that ordinarily preaching should precede praying, that so the people may be instructed and moved to pray. And with this it will be seen agrees the appointed place of the sermon wherever one is prescribed in the Prayer Book. In the order for Holy Communion the sermon comes in the early part of the service, following the Scripture lessons, the Epistle and Gospel, and before all but the introductory prayers. At an Ordination of Deacons or Priests the sermon precedes the whole service. At Evening Prayer no sermon is prescribed. A sermon may precede or follow the service. Or it would seem allowable, and where it is of the nature of an exposition useful, to let it follow the reading of the second lesson. This is the place appointed by the English rubric for catechising. And at this point I remember it is the rule for the sermon to be preached at St. Ninian's pro-cathedral, Perth, in the diocese of St. Andrews, the custom having been brought by Bishop Charles Wordsworth from the chapel of Winchester School.

At the same time, it seems to me, a protest should be made against what I venture to call the practice of playing tricks with the regular service, by the reading of only one lesson (two being ordered), or by

reducing each element to a *minimum* — one psalm (the shortest perhaps that is available), then a few verses of Scripture, then a string of collects, very likely not well chosen, and saying in effect the same thing over and over. The rubrics in the present Prayer Book, amended in 1892, give the irreducible *minimum* for the regular services, with the structure and contents of which we have no right to tamper, in the interest either of oratory or of oratorio, each of which can be provided for separately.

3. If in its use of the vernacular our Prayer Book gives us a great advantage over the Roman Catholic Church, surely the prescribed Table of Lessons affords no less gain over the unregulated reading of Scripture in the public services of Protestant bodies. Reading in course (with appointed lessons for special days) is a protection both for the minister and for the people. So far from infringing on the liberty of the congregation, these rules (like all wise laws) are on the side of genuine liberty, which is forfeited by license. The people are freed, in instruction as in prayer, from bondage to the idiosyncrasies of the particular minister, and from subjection to his passing moods. The minister has his favourite Scriptures, those which appeal more particularly to him, or on which he finds it easiest to preach. To these he naturally turns, if left to himself. A prescribed order of

Scripture reading secures for the people a wider and more varied pasturage. On the other hand the clergyman is by the same means freed from the suspicion of picking out distasteful or unpopular subjects; and safeguarded likewise against his own inclination to avoid the plain and wholesome teaching and warning of Scripture on matters which he might shrink from turning to of his own accord. I have been speaking generally. Our lectionary is, of course, capable of improvement. Some lessons might well be omitted, which are hardly suitable for reading to a week-day congregation largely composed of devout women. Considerable liberty is now allowed by the rubrics, which may well be exercised in such cases. To mention another point for revision: the divisions of chapters are too slavishly followed, where much better divisions might easily be made.[1]

The profit of the prescribed orderly reading of Scripture in putting us to school (so to speak) with one after another of the inspired writers of both the Old and the New Testament, so that we may learn in turn the lesson which each has to give, and see divine and spiritual truths from his standpoint, will prove, I believe, incalculable to those who seek regularly, intelligently, and devoutly to gain its benefits.[2]

[1] See Appendix G.

[2] See Bishop Gore, in *Lux Mundi*, Essay VIII. iii. §4.

4. This naturally leads to the suggestion (on which I would lay stress) that much might be done for the instruction and edifying of our people by a more frequent *exposition* of the Scriptures. Exposition would, I am sure, oftentimes prove more profitable than exhortation. The light that is thrown on Scripture by careful exposition lasts on, and the passage, whenever it is afterwards heard or read, is understood in the sense which has been shown to belong to it. With such examples before us of popular exposition of Holy Scripture as are given by St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine in old times, and in England in our own day by Dr. Gore, when at Westminster Abbey, by Dr. Dale at Birmingham, and Dr. Alexander Maclaren at Manchester, it cannot be doubted that careful expository teaching will be welcomed, and that by very different classes of people. The Sunday morning congregation at Carr's Lane Chapel in Birmingham, or Dr. Maclaren's at Manchester, would differ in many respects from that gathered on week-day afternoons during Advent and Lent in Westminster Abbey. The former would more nearly resemble our own congregations.[1] If Dr. Dale could preach exposi-

[1] It may be worth while to refer to Dr. Dale's quotation of the Congregational deacon, who complained of a series of ministers, with whom he contrasted Dr. Dale, "They have preached

tory sermons right through the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the Epistle to the Ephesians, and Dr. Maclaren could expound, among other Scriptures, the last Discourse of our Lord in St. John xiv–xvi, surely we might be emboldened (though without their special gifts) to attempt from time to time the continuous exposition of books of the Old and the New Testament. I do not forget the difference between our service and that of those preachers, who were free to focus all the Scripture reading, and most of the other portions of their service, on the subject of the sermon. Our morning sermons must ordinarily be shorter; we lose in concentration owing to the prescribed Scriptures at Morning Prayer and at Holy Communion. This may make it desirable in many cases to attempt consecutive exposition (such as I am now recommending) at or after Evening Prayer. No sermon is prescribed at Evensong, and there can be no reason why persons who are so minded should not come for the worship only, or, if they so please, for the preaching or exposition without the service. We greatly need more freedom and elasticity in the arrangement of our services. Of a somewhat different kind are expository sermons following the appointed lessons read in the

to us as if we were all Masters of Arts." Preface to *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*, p. viii.

service — such as (to mention great models) Dr. Liddon frequently preached, and with such effect, at St. Paul's Cathedral, or Mr. Frederick Denison Maurice in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn.[1]

Whatever the method preferred, or thought most suitable in different places, whether in ordinary sermons or in special courses, or apart from any regular service as a separate exercise, — I earnestly recommend a more general practice of Scriptural exposition. In view particularly of the doubts concerning the Bible which in our day are widely felt,— more commonly probably than many of us imagine, — it seems the clear duty of the clergy, as ministers of God's Word as well as of His Sacraments, to help the people to a right understanding of the written record of Divine revelation. One great need with most of our people is the grasp of religious truth in a systematic fashion, so that they may perceive how one part fits in with another. Continuous instruction and exposition would be a great help toward remedying the fragmentary character of the religious knowledge which is all that many earnest Christian people possess. By this means difficulties could be explained, and objections ofttimes anticipated.

[1] Of a somewhat different character, Dr. Luckock's *Footprints of the Son of Man*, an exposition of St. Mark's Gospel, should be mentioned.

As an illustration I will refer to what really belongs to the subject of these lectures, and should claim mention therein. While the removal of the Ten Commandments from the order for Holy Communion would in many ways be a distinct loss to our Sunday morning service, yet I will frankly say that I doubt whether the general benefit of the rehearsal of the Decalogue is not offset by the danger belonging to the repetition among the others of the Fourth Commandment without any explanation to the people as to the way and time in which "God spake these words." The great majority of persons in our congregations hear the Fourth Commandment read as if it were of equal and similar obligation with those which enunciate great moral laws. They know that in the letter the Commandment is not observed by good Christian people. The effect must be to throw a sense of unreality upon the service, and to break down the sense of the imperative obligation of the moral precepts of the Decalogue. An exposition of Exodus and Deuteronomy, with the differing versions of the Ten Words, would show that neither version can be understood as giving the *ipsissima verba* of Almighty God; it would be seen that the reason given for the observance of the Sabbath (varying in the two versions) must be a later comment; as most probably are the detailed pre-

cepts with regard to its observance.[1] It will then become clear that the Decalogue, as a law, was given to the Jews, and intended for them, as a part of their preparatory schooling for Christianity; and that while the moral principles contained in the Ten Commandments are binding upon all men, the positive enactments of the Fourth and of the Second Commandments only apply to Christians by way of suggestion and analogy. Thus people would be relieved of serious difficulties; while St. Paul, who classed the observance of the Sabbath with that of the New Moons or of Circumcision,[2] would be vindicated from a suspicion of making light of a Divine obligation. The observance of the Lord's day would be recognized as a Christian duty, imposed by the Christian Church, in honour primarily of the resurrection of her Lord, for the spiritual comfort and help of her children, and as a recognition and expression of the obligation to devote the first fruits of our time, as of our wealth, to God, and "to serve Him truly all the days of our life."[3]

[1] See Bishop H. E. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., p. 24.

[2] Col. ii. 16.

[3] Archbishop Peckham's Constitutions (1281), already referred to, in connexion with the Decalogue (lect. ii. p. 54), may be quoted: "In the third [our Fourth Commandment], 'Remember that thou keep,' &c., the Christian worship is enjoined, to which laymen as well as clerks are bound; and here we are to

5. After all that has been shown of the intrinsic importance of the use of Holy Scripture in public worship, and concerning the practice of the Christian Church in this regard from the beginning, there ought to be little need to urge two further points, which nevertheless cannot be passed by: (1) the duty of the Church to provide for this purpose the best available version of the Scriptures; and (2) the duty of the officiating clergyman to read the Scriptures in the congregation both intelligibly and intelligently.

"Next in importance," it has been well said, "to the conservation of a pure text of the Original Scriptures is confessedly their faithful translation into the living speech of men."[1] Concerning the use of

know that the obligation to observe the legal Sabbath, according to the form of the Old Testament, is at an end, together with the other ceremonies in that law: to which in the New Testament hath succeeded the custom of spending the Lord's Day, and other solemn days appointed by authority of the Church, in the worship of God; and the manner of observing these days is not to be taken from the superstition of the Jews, but from canonical institutes." Johnson's *English Canons*, ii. 284.

A general discussion of the subject of the observance of the Lord's day, and of its obligation, will be found in the volume "Sunday," by the Rev. W. B. Trevelyan, in the Oxford Library of Practical Theology; and a good summary of the fluctuations of opinion, among both Catholics and Protestants concerning the relation of the Lord's day to the Sabbath, in the Rev. Leighton Pullan's volume "The Christian Tradition," in the same series, pp. 167–171.

[1] Preface to *English Versions of the Bible*, by J. I. Mombert.

the vernacular, Origen's words in his treatise against Celsus may be cited as an apt testimony to the practice of the Church in the second century. Arguing against Celsus, who urged that heavenly or supernatural beings would resent insults, and that Christians might give offence by miscalling them, Origen replies, "Christians in prayer do not even use the precise names which divine scripture applies to God, but the Greeks use Greek names, the Romans Latin names, and every one prays and sings praises to God as he best can in his mother tongue. And the Lord of all the languages of earth hears those who pray to Him in each different tongue, hearing, if I may so say, but one voice, expressing itself in different languages."[1] So at the beginning of the fifth century Jerome, in describing the burial of Paula, says one after another of the ecclesiastics, assembled from different places to do honour to this distinguished Christian lady, chanted the Psalms, "now in Greek, now in Latin, now in Syriac."[2]

It has been a special glory of the reformed English Church (in the widest sense) that she has set herself to give the people the sacred Scriptures in their own tongue. In 1534 Convocation petitioned the king (Henry VIII) to make provision for an authorized

[1] Bk. viii. ch. 37. (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xxiii. p. 522.)
[2] Ep. ad. Eustoch. (Nicene Fathers, vol. vi. p. 211.)

English version of the Bible. In 1539 the first edition of the Great Bible was published with the aid of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, at that time the king's chief minister. The Great Bible was apparently Coverdale's revision of his own translation, the first in English of the whole Bible (1535), of Tyndale's New Testament and Pentateuch (1525, 1530, and 1534), and of Matthew's edition (1537). It was ordered that a copy of the Great Bible should be set up in every Church. A second edition of the book was published the next year (1540), with a preface by Archbishop Cranmer. The Bishops' Bible, put forth under Queen Elizabeth by Archbishop Parker in 1568, was an unsuccessful attempt to improve on this translation, the Psalter of which is still retained in the Prayer Book as better adapted to liturgical use, "more smooth and fit for song," than the later and more accurate version in the King James Bible (1611).[1] Until 1662 the Epistles and Gospels, as

[1] It is interesting to note a similar survival for liturgical use of an older version of the Psalter in the Latin Breviaries. The Italic continued to be the Roman use, while the Vulgate (Jerome's later translation) was used in Gaul, being introduced there, it is said, by Gregory of Tours. St. Francis of Assisi ordered in his Rule the use of the Roman office except the Psalter. The Vulgate gradually prevailed everywhere except in Rome itself, and was adopted as the general use by the Council of Trent. The old Italic is however still retained in the Lateran, and everywhere the *Venite* is said according to this version. See art. "Psalmody" in *Dict. of Christian Antiquity*, ii. p. 1745 A.

well as the Psalter, were taken from the older translation. For the Lessons the 1611 book apparently gradually won its way.[1] The Comfortable Words (introduced in 1548), the Offertory Sentences (1549), and the Ten Commandments (1552) are most probably translations by Cranmer or one of his assistants.

I cannot refrain from expressing a hope that the Episcopal Church in America is making a contribution of real value, to the intelligent reading of the Bible in the edition, about to be published, of the 1611 version with new marginal readings, in which, without sacrificing the matchless and familiar rhythm of the King James version, it has been attempted, so far as possible, to explain obscurities, to remove misconceptions, and to correct mistakes; bringing together in our alternative readings (which are authorized for use in church) points of excellence in both the English (1881, 1884) and the American Revised Versions (1901). It is interesting to record that a large portion of the work of the Commission of bishops and presbyters, to which the preparation of this Bible was intrusted by the General Convention, has been actually accomplished within the walls of this Seminary.

[1] See Introduction to Driver's *Parallel Psalter*, Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, p. 294, and his Preface to *Some Lessons of the Revised Version.*

6. With reference to the actual reading of the Scriptures the direction of the English rubric may be quoted. The Lessons, it says, "shall be read distinctly with an audible voice: he that readeth so standing and turning himself, as he may best be heard of all such as are present." This direction (which would seem to be that of common sense) for the Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer, will apply of course no less to the Epistle and Gospel at Holy Communion. For the officiant to read these facing the altar is an unintelligent imitation of a ceremonial absurdity, resulting from the deeper mistake of employing in public worship what is to the congregation an unknown tongue. The Scriptures are read for the edification of the people, not as an act of praise to God, however true it may be that to recite His works and rehearse His words is the highest praise that can be offered Him.

When it is considered how little of the Bible as a whole most people know save what they hear in church, it will be seen how great is the importance of intelligible, intelligent, and reverent reading of the Scriptures in the congregation. I join together the three adjectives, being convinced that they really go one with another. The reading must be intelligible, the enunciation distinct and clear. Public worship should include the exercise of all the elements

of our being in God's service. The body with its powers, as well as the faculties of the mind and heart, is to be employed, and as perfectly as may be, for His glory and the edifying of His Church. Ceremonial propriety should surely require correct and careful articulation as a part of the homage which is due to the Divine Word.

But this cannot be sufficient. If we read intelligibly, we must also seek to read intelligently, to give, that is, so far as we can, the proper and intended meaning to the words we pronounce. The sense of Scripture is Scripture, and it is this which we are to bring home to the people. Whatever theory of verbal inspiration any may entertain, it will hardly be contended that the mere words apart from the thoughts which they express have a sacramental efficacy for the hearer. Deliberately and on principle to refrain from reading with emphasis, so as to avoid putting one's own interpretation on the sacred writings, is a curious mode of showing reverence to Him who is both the Word and the Wisdom of God, and the latter (if one may so say) before the former, the Thought of God more fundamentally than the Utterance of that Thought.

The same word may stand in varying connexions for different thoughts. The same phrase or sentence will stand for different ideas according to the emphasis

and expression with which it is pronounced. It is our duty so to study the Scriptures that we may be prepared in their public reading to give the true, or at least the probable, sense of what we read. Some personal element there must be in this; we are agents, not instruments, in the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. A tone of personal sympathy and intelligence is as natural as an individual inflexion of the voice. But in good reading there will be a distinct effort to avoid any peculiarities which would call attention to the reader, his manner or his thought. The great object will be, sinking consciousness of self, to deliver the Divine message, to express the meaning of the sacred writing. It should perhaps be added that to do this in reading does not involve theatrical declamation.

"Give heed," the aged apostle charged his son in the faith, "to reading, to exhortation, to teaching," *i. e.*, to the public reading of Holy Scripture, *τῇ ἀναγνώσει*, and, as based thereon, to public preaching addressed to the will as exhortation, *τῇ παρακλήσει*, and addressed to the understanding as instruction, *τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ*.[1]

The blessing pronounced by the beloved disciple on the reading and hearing of the record of his vision may surely be extended to the rest of Holy

[1] Dr. Liddon on 1 Tim. iv. 13.

Scripture. "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of the prophecy, and keep the things which are written therein."[1]

"We assemble," says Tertullian, in his account of the practice of the Church in the second century, "to read our sacred writings. . . . With their sacred words we nourish our faith, we animate our hope, we make our confidence more steadfast; and no less by the inculcation of God's precepts we confirm good habits."[2]

[1] Rev. i. 3.

[2] Apol. 39. (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xi. p. 118.)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. (Lect. I, p. 20.)

OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECIES QUOTED IN THE GOSPELS AS FULFILLED IN OUR LORD.

1. Isa. vii. 14 : Matt. i. 22, 23. The name Emmanuel represents the presence of God with His faithful people contending against Ahaz, the apostate king, to be manifested in the overthrow of his wicked plans. The language used of this great Old Testament manifestation is naturally applied by the Evangelist to the coming of our Lord in His incarnation, to be the deliverer and protector of His faithful people. The mother probably represents the faithful Church, as in Mic. v. 3, and Rev. xii.
2. Mic. v. 2 : Matt. ii. 5, 6. The birth of the Lord at Bethlehem marked Him out as the true fulfilment of the charter to David, his greater representative. Comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.
3. Hos. xi. 1 : Matt. ii. 15. See Lect. I, p. 19.
4. Jer. xxxi. 15 : Matt. ii. 17, 18. The apparent triumph of the foes of God in the captivity of His people is applied to the apparent triumph of Herod in the slaughter of the children. In both cases a divine purpose was being fulfilled amid anguish and desolation.

5. Isa. xl. 3 : Matt. iii. 3, Mk. i. 2. The messenger who was to announce the great deliverance from Babylonian captivity corresponds with the messenger who announced the great Deliverer.
6. Isa. ix. 1, 2 : Matt. iv. 14–16. The portion of the land desolated by heathendom is to be restored to honour. So in despised Galilee, with its heathen surroundings, the glory of the coming kingdom was first manifested.
7. Isa. liii. 4 : Matt. viii. 17 ; comp. 1 Pet. ii. 24. The representative servant of the Lord identifying himself with the sufferings of his people, with a view to their deliverance. See Lect. I, pp. 17, 27.
8. Isa. xxxv. 5 : Matt. xi. 4, 5, Lk. vii. 22. A general likeness is pointed out between God's restoration of Israel out of captivity and the manner in which the Lord began His work of restoration.
9. Mal. iii. 1 : Matt. xi. 10. A second Elijah sent as a prophet of repentance to the disobedient people.
10. Isa. xlii. 1–4 : Matt. xii. 17–21. The anointed servant fulfilling his world-wide mission.
11. Isa. vi. 9, 10 : Matt. xiii. 14, 15. The ministry of Isaiah was to find response only in the remnant of the faithful. A corresponding contrast between the disciples and the multitude is found in the ministry of the Lord.
12. Ps. lxxviii. 2 : Matt. xiii. 35. The gradual unfolding of God's covenant dealings with His ancient people corresponded to the gradual advance of the Lord's teaching.

13. Zech. ix. 9 : Matt. xxi. 4, 5, John xii. 14–16. See Lect. I, p. 19.
14. Ps. cxviii. 22 : Matt. xxi. 42, Mk. xii. 10 ; comp. Acts iv. 11, 12. The divinely given mission of Israel rejected by the heathen finds its analogue in the rejection by the apostate people of the divinely sent Deliverer.
15. Ps. cx. 1 : Matt. xxii. 43, 44, Mk. xii. 36. The Messianic king not the son of David in the sense that his work was limited to an earthly kingdom ; for this psalm shows that the Messianic king was to be exalted to the right hand of God, with corresponding priestly functions in the heavenly sphere.
16. Zech. xiii. 7 : Matt. xxvi. 31, Mk. xiv. 27. The smiting of the divinely given ruler, and the consequent scattering of the people, the predicted necessity for their redemption from sin.
17. Zech. xi. 12, 13 : Matt. xxvii. 9. The contemptuous rejection of the divinely given ruler for the price of a slave.
18. Ps. xxii. 18 : Matt. xxvii. 35, John xix. 24. The contempt of God's servant shown by treating him as already dead.
19. Isa. liii. 12 : Mk. xv. 28, Lk. xxii. 37. The representative servant of the Lord bearing the shame of the sinful people whom he redeems.
20. Isa. lxi. 1 : Lk. iv. 17–19. The mission of the representative servant of the Lord on behalf of His people.

21. Ps. lxix. 9 : John ii. 17. The complete identification of the servant of the Lord with His cause and honour.
22. Isa. xii. 3, Ezek. xlvii. 1 : John vii. 38. The Lord the great fountain of life and cleansing, typified by the drawing water from Siloam, communicates similar power to His people, as in Ezek. the living stream flowed from beneath the temple, which was at once the shrine of God and the home of the worshipper.
23. Ex. xii. 46 : John xix. 36. The reverence due to the divinely appointed sacrifice not to be violated by the chosen people in Exodus, or by the heathen soldiers in the Gospel.
24. Zech. xii. 10 : John xix. 37. The piercing of the divine representative the final sign of the aggravation of human sin, yet opening the fountain of redemption.

APPENDIX B. (Lect. III, p. 75.)

THE SCRIPTURAL SOURCES OF THE VERSICLES.[1]

1. At Morning and Evening Prayer.

O Lord, open thou our lips. Ps. li. 15.
And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

[O God, make speed to save us. Ps. lxx. 1.[2]
O Lord, make haste to help us.]

O Lord, show thy mercy upon us. Ps. lxxxv. 7.
And grant us thy salvation.

O Lord, save the State. Ps. xx. 9, R. V. m.
And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

Endue thy ministers with righteousness. Ps. cxxxii. 9, 16.
And make thy chosen people joyful.

O Lord, save thy people. Ps. xxviii. 9.
And bless thine inheritance.

Give peace in our time, O Lord. Ps. cxxii. 7.
For it is thou, Lord, only, that makest us dwell in safety. Ps. iv. 8.

O God, make clean our hearts within us. Ps. li. 10, 11.
And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

[1] For convenience the references are to the English Bible version of the Psalms, or other Scriptures, though the quotations are ordinarily made from the Vulgate, which often makes the connexion clearer.

[2] Retained from the Breviaries in the English Prayer Book.

2. The Versicles at the end of the Litany, taken (as has been said, p. 77,) from a Supplication in time of War, appear to be suggested in a general way by passages in Scripture, rather than actual quotations therefrom.

3. The concluding verses of the *Te Deum.*

O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage. Ps. xxviii. 9.
Govern them, and lift them up for ever.

Day by day we magnify thee ; Ps. cxlv. 2.
And we worship thy Name ever, world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
O Lord, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us. Ps. cxxiii. 3.

O Lord, let thy mercy be upon us, as our trust is in thee. Ps. xxxiii. 22.
O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Ps. lxxi. 1.

4. In the Penitential Office for Ash-Wednesday.

O Lord, save thy servants ; Ps. lxxxvi. 2.
That put their trust in thee.

Send unto them help from above. Ps. xx. 2.
And evermore mightily defend them.

Help us, O God our Saviour. Ps. lxxix. 9.
And for the glory of thy Name deliver us ; be merciful unto us sinners, for thy Name's sake.

O Lord, hear our prayer. Ps. cii. 1.
And let our cry come unto thee.

5. In the Order of Confirmation.

Our help is in the Name of the Lord; Ps. cxxiv. 8.
Who hath made heaven and earth.

Blessed be the Name of the Lord; Ps. cxiii. 2.
Henceforth, world without end.

Lord, hear our prayer. Ps. cii. 1.
And let our cry come unto thee.

6. In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.

O Lord, save thy servant; Ps. lxxxvi. 2.
Who putteth *his* trust in thee.

Send *him* help from thy holy place; Ps. xx. 2.
And evermore mightily defend *him*.

Let the enemy have no advantage of *him*; Ps. lxxxix. 22.
Nor the wicked approach to hurt *him*.

Be unto *him*, O Lord, a strong tower; Ps. lxi. 3.
From the face of *his* enemy.

O Lord, hear our prayer. Ps. cii. 1.
And let our cry come unto thee.

7. The *preces* in the Roman Breviary.[1]

I said, Lord, be merciful unto me. Ps. xli. 4.
Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee.

Turn us again, O Lord; Ps. xc. 13.
And be merciful unto thy servants.

[1] These are somewhat fuller than the *preces* in the Sarum Breviary. Batiffol says of the *preces* in the Roman ferial office that they are mentioned by Amalarius, a Frankish liturgist, about 825; that they are of Roman monastic prescription, and form in reality a litany. *History of the Roman Breviary* (transl.), pp. 90, 97.

Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us ; Ps. xxxiii. 22.
Like as we do put our trust in thee.

Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness, Ps. cxxxii. 9.
And thy saints sing with joyfulness.

O Lord, save the king ; Ps. xx. 9, R. V. m.
And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance. Ps. xxviii. 9.
Govern them, and lift them up for ever.

Remember thy congregation ; Ps. lxxiv. 2.
Which thou hast purchased from of old.

Peace be within thy walls. Ps. cxxii. 7.
And plenteousness within thy palaces.

Let us pray for the faithful departed.
Eternal rest grant them, O Lord, and let light perpetual shine upon them. 2 Esdras ii. 34, 35.

May they rest in peace.
Amen.

Let us pray for our brethren that are absent.
Save thy servants, O God, which trust in thee. Ps. lxxxvi. 2.

Let us pray for those in distress or in bonds.
Deliver Israel, O God, out of all his troubles. Ps. xxv. 22.

Send them help from the sanctuary. Ps. xx. 2.
And defend them out of Sion.

Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts. Ps. lxxx. 3, 7, 19.
Show the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole.

O Christ, arise and help us. Ps. xliv. 26.
And deliver us for thy Name's sake.

O Lord, hear our prayer. Ps. cii. 1.
And let our cry come unto thee.

APPENDIX C. (Lect. III, p. 78.)

ANTIPHONS SUNG AT RECENT SPECIAL SERVICES AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

1. At the Thanksgiving for the long reign of Queen Victoria, June 20, 1897.

Before and after Psalm cxlviii the Antiphon, All kings shall fall down before Him, all nations shall do Him service.

2. At the Supplication for King Edward VII in his sickness, June 26, 1902.

Before and after Psalms xiii, xxiii, xxv the Antiphon, O Lord, correct me, but with judgment: not in Thine anger, lest Thou bring me to nothing.

Before and after the *Benedictus* the Antiphon, There is mercy with Thee, therefore shalt Thou be feared.

3. At the Thanksgiving for the recovery from sickness of King Edward VII, October 26, 1902.

Before and after Psalms xxx, cviii the Antiphon, The Lord is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble; and He knoweth them that trust in Him.

Before and after the *Benedictus* the Antiphon, Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers: and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.

4. At a Solemn Supplication on the Burial Day of President McKinley, September 19, 1901.

Before and after Psalms cxxx, cxxi, xxiii, li the Antiphon, If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss; O Lord, who may abide it?

The same Antiphon with Psalm cxxx daily after Queen Victoria's death until the burial, December, 1900.

5. At a service of Thanksgiving after the Return of of the City of London Imperial Volunteers from South Africa, October 27, 1900.

Before and after Psalms cxx, cxxiv, cxxv the Antiphon, O Lord God, Thou strength of my health: Thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.

APPENDIX D. (Lect. III, p. 82.)

SOME OLD TESTAMENT CANTICLES.[1]

The Cistercian Breviary (following apparently the older Benedictine use) both distributes the Old Testament Canticles mentioned in the Lecture (p. 82) among the days of the week at Lauds, as does the Roman Breviary; and also has for the third nocturn at Matins on ordinary Sundays two canticles taken from Isa. xxxiii. 2–10 and 13–17, and a third from Ecclus. xxxvi. 12–17.[2]

For the Sundays in Advent the three canticles are from

(1) Isa. xl. 10–15, (2) xlii. 10–16, (3) xlix. 7–13.

For Christmastide

(1) Isa. ix. 2–7, (2) xxvi. 1–12, (3) lxvi. 10–16.

For Lent

(1) Jer. xiv. 17–21, (2) Lam. v. 1–7, 16, 17, 19–21, (3) Ezek. xxxvi. 24–28.

[1] It has seemed worth while to mark the Old Testament canticles given in the Cistercian Breviary for two reasons :

(1) They show a remarkable knowledge of Scripture, with a power of adapting it, for which the mediæval church is not always given credit.

(2) The selections may furnish hints to those whose duty it may be to arrange special forms of service. Many of the passages here arranged as Canticles would serve for Lessons.

[2] The verses as given here are inclusive.

For the Paschal season

(1) Isa. lxiii. 1–5, (2) Hos. vi. 1–6, (3) Zeph. iii. 8–13.

For Corpus Christi

(1) Prov. ix. 1–6, (2) Jer. xxxi. 10–14, (3) Wisd. xvi. 20, 21, 26, 29, xvii. 1.

For the Common of Apostles

(1) Isa. lxi. 6–9, (2) Wisd. iii. 7–9, (3) Wisd. x. 17–21.

For the Common of a Martyr

(1) Ecclus. xiv. 20, xv. 3–6, (2) Jer. xvii. 7, 8, (3) Ecclus. xxxi. 8–11.

For the Common of many Martyrs

(1) Wisd. iii. 1–6, (2) 7–9, (3) x. 17–21.

For the Common of Virgins

(1) Ecclus. xxxix. 13–16, (2) Isa. lxi. 10–lxii. 3, (3) lxii. 4–7.

For the Dedication of a Church

(1) Tobit xiii. 8–13, (2) Isa. ii. 2, 3, (3) Jer. vii. 2–7.

The Paris Breviary provided special Old Testament Canticles for festivals to take the place of those ordinarily said on the different days of the week at Lauds.

e. g., on Monday, Ecclus. xxxix. 15–20.
Tuesday, Ecclus. xxxvi. 1–14.
Wednesday, Tobit xiii. 1–8.
Thursday, 1 Chron. xxix. 10–13.
Friday, Isa. xxvi. 1–12.
Saturday, Judith xvi. 2–6.
For the Epiphany, Isa. xlix. 13–21.
For the Purification, Zeph. iii. 14–17.

APPENDIX E. (Lect. IV, p. 97.)

TABLE OF PROPER PSALMS ON CERTAIN DAYS

First Sunday in Advent.	8	The dignity of man by God's choice, realized in the Incarnation.
	50	The great assize.
	96, 97	Rejoicing in the Lord the righteous judge.
Christmas-day.	19	The revelation of God in nature and conscience, which is perfected in the Incarnation.
	45	The ideal Messianic king.
	85	The gracious return of God to His penitent people.
	89	God's promises to David fulfilled, notwithstanding seeming failure.
	110	The Messianic king and priest.
	132	The sure promise to David.
Circumcision. [New Year's day.]	40	Obedience the true meaning of sacrifice.
	90	God man's refuge in the shortness and uncertainty of his life.
	65, 103	A thanksgiving for God's mercies.
Epiphany.	46, 47	The triumph of the God of Israel over the nations.
	48	The glory of His chosen city.
	72	The glory of the Messianic reign.
	117	The Gentiles called to praise the Lord.
	135	As 46, 47, above.

PURIFICATION.

20 Prayer for blessing on the king dedicating himself in the sanctuary.
86 The dedication of God's servant.
87 Sion the birthplace of the nations.

84 The Temple the true home of human life.
113 An anticipation of the *Magnificat*.
134 Praise and benediction in the Temple.

ASH-WEDNESDAY. The Penitential Psalms.

ANNUNCIATION.

89 As on Christmas-day.

131 Lowliness accepted.
132 As on Christmas-day.
138 The joy of accepted vocation.

GOOD FRIDAY.

22 The servant of God glorified through suffering.
40 As on the Circumcision.
54 The suffering servant protected and delivered.

69 The anguish of God's servant enduring unjust reproach.
88 The prayer of God's servant in utter desolation.

EASTER-EVEN.

4 Joyous commendation to God when delivered from distress.
16, 17 Joyous confidence in the unfailing protection of God.

30 God's unfailing protection realized in experience.
31 The faithful servant commending himself to God.

EASTER-DAY.	2	The triumph of God's chosen king.
	57	Trust vindicated in deliverance.
	111	Praise for God's fulfilment of His covenant.
	113, 114, 118	Beginning and end of the great Hallel, sung at the Passover, and commemorating deliverance.
ASCENSION-DAY.	8	(comp. Advent Sunday) Man exalted in Christ.
	15	Moral dispositions required for admission to God's presence.
	21	Triumphant return of the king.
	24	God's presence with His people manifested in triumph.
	47	Triumphant celebration of God's victory over the enemies of His people.
	108	Prayer of the covenant people for the realization of God's complete victory.
WHITSUNDAY.	48	The glory of the city of God.
	68	Triumph of the covenant people, rejoicing in God's presence in their midst.
	104	The glory of God mirrored in the world as discerned by His spiritually enlightened people.
	145	The glory of the Divine character recognized and sung in the church.
TRINITY-SUNDAY.	29	The adoration of God by His covenant people, the ground of their peace.
	33	Adoration of God by His covenant people in joyous thanksgiving.
	93	Adoration of the Divine sovereignty.
	97	Adoration of God as the righteous judge.
	150	The triumphant worship of the covenant God.

Transfiguration.	27	Seeking the face of the Lord.
	61	God's manifested presence the refuge of the soul.
	93	The manifestation of the Lord's majesty.
	84	God's manifested presence transfiguring the life of man.
	99	God's triumphant glory manifested among His faithful servants.
	133	The presence of God the source of union to His people.
St. Michael's.	91	God's providential care, exercised in part through angelic ministrations.
	103	The praise of God by men and angels.
	34	As 91, above.
	148	As 103, above.
All Saints' Day.	1	Blessedness of the godly.
	15	Description of the godly. Comp. Ascension-day.
	146	Joyous confidence of the godly.
	112	As 1, above.
	121	God's unfailing protection of His saints.
	149	The victory of the saints.

APPENDIX F. (Lect. V, p. 98.)

TABLE OF SELECTIONS OF PSALMS.[1]

First. 1, 15, 91. For Saints' days, or at a Confirmation.

Second. 4, 31 to v. 7, 91, 134. Compline Psalms, for a night service.

Third. 19, 24, 103. For festivals of Apostles or Evangelists.

Fourth. 23, 34, 65. In connexion with the Holy Communion.

Fifth. 26, 43, 141. Penitential. For Holy Week.

Sixth. 32, 130, 121. Penitential.

Seventh. 37. For Saints' days, or commemorations.

Eighth. 51, 42. Penitential.

Ninth. 72, 96. For Christmas and Epiphany seasons, or for Missions.

Tenth. 77. For a day of humiliation.

Eleventh. 80, 81. Intercession for the Church.

Twelfth. 84, 122, 134. For the dedication festival of a church.

Thirteenth. 85, 93, 97. Thanksgiving for the Church.

Fourteenth. 102. Penitential.

Fifteenth. 107. For an occasion of Thanksgiving.

Sixteenth. 118. For Palm Sunday, or the Easter season.

Seventeenth. 123, 124, 125. For an occasion of Penitence or Intercession.

Eighteenth. 139, 145. For Saints' days.

Nineteenth. 147. Festal.

Twentieth. 148, 149, 150. Festal.

[1] It is not, of course, intended that the use of the different Selections is limited to these occasions for which it is suggested that they are specially appropriate.

APPENDIX G. (Lect. VI, p. 154.)

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TABLE OF LESSONS.

1. As an example of the too slavish following of chapter divisions, one may point to the first seven chapters of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, with the suggestion of what seems a better arrangement for the same number of lessons :

i. 1–15.
i. 15–ii. 12
ii. 12–iv. 7
iv. 7–v. 11
v. 11–vi. 11
vi. 11–vii. 5
vii. 5 to end.

The beginning of St. John's First Epistle is another illustration of the same fault. The first six verses of ch. ii ought surely to be read with ch. i.

The present English lectionary seems superior to ours in the more frequent disregard of chapter divisions, when these violate the sense. But neither of the above suggestions is from the English table.

2. At the risk of recommending lessons that may be considered over long, a protest seems necessary against dividing St. Stephen's speech in two whenever it is publicly read (Acts vii), or stopping in the middle of the

account of St. Paul's shipwreck (Acts xxvii). So again to stop between vv. 21 and 22 in Acts xxii is to lose the point of the uproar described in vv. 22, 23, but caused by the apostle's words in v. 21.

3. Among Proper Lessons more cheerful Old Testament lessons might well be provided for Low Sunday, especially in the evening, while modern exegesis would certainly substitute another lesson for Hos. xiii to 15 on the Second Sunday after Easter. However St. Paul (in 1 Cor. xv) used some of its words, taken from the LXX translation, verse 14 in Hosea must be understood as a threat. The Old Testament lessons for the Second Sunday after Christmas cannot be regarded as specially appropriate, while it would seem as if there must be some mistake in the direction that each shall end with verse 21. (Isa. xli and xlii.)

4. A plea may be made for more lessons from the Deutero-canonical books than are appointed for the week days from November 2 to 20, with three for Saints' days (one for St. Luke, and two for All Saints'). A few Sundays might well be provided for from these books, which form so interesting and valuable a connecting link both (1) between the rest of the Old Testament and the New Testament, and (2) between the canonical books and other writings not authorized for public reading in church.

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tion of this "Psalm of the Saints" at the "Lesser Hours" belongs to the Gregorian or secular order of the Western Church. In the Benedictine or monastic order it was said only on Sunday and Monday, that is, once a week, not daily. In the Greek use Ps. cxix. is said only in the night office or Matins, and at burials.

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